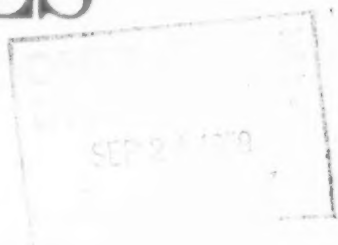


# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES



**VOL. 8, No. 2 JUNE, 1959**

- |                                 |     |  |
|---------------------------------|-----|--|
| G. E. Cumper                    | 105 | Employment in Barbados                                     |
| C. O'Loughlin                   | 147 | The Economy of Montserrat                                  |
| S. & J. Comhaire-Sylvain        | 179 | Urban Stratification in Haiti                              |
| G. E. Hodnett & W. R. E. Nanton | 190 | Definition of a Farm and Farmer in Agricultural Statistics |
| Peter Newman                    | 197 | Development for Everyman                                   |

**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH**  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES, JAMAICA, W.I.

## INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

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# Employment in Barbados

By

G. E. CUMPER

*In 1955 G. E. Cumper carried out a survey of employment in the island of Barbados, and in 1956 a report on this survey was submitted to the government of Barbados. We believe the results obtained and the techniques used may be of interest to readers of SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, and we therefore reproduce here the substance of the report. We have omitted those recommendations which were narrowly administrative, the omissions being indicated by asterisks (pp. 136, 137, 139). The reader who wishes to obtain further details is referred to the version of the report which will be published by the government of Barbados — Editor.*

## THE HISTORY OF THE BARBADOS LABOUR MARKET

Since there exists no accepted economic history of Barbados since emancipation it may be useful to give a sketch of the main lines of development as they affect the labour market, from emancipation (1838) to 1946. Changes since 1946 are dealt with separately below.

The abolition of slavery in Barbados produced, as in other colonies of the British West Indies, a period of confused labour relations. In contrast with the stability of slavery, free labour showed itself for a time highly mobile, many agricultural workers leaving the estates of their traditional settlement to seek other work in other places. Wage rates, bearing for the first time the full burden of regulating the labour market, varied widely from place to place according as the worker or the employer held and chose to use a local bargaining advantage. There was a rapid increase in the number of workers who specialized in occupations outside the plantation system — hucksters, shopkeepers, boatmen — and in the population of the coastal villages where land was available for settling these workers (e.g. Speightstown).

In the decade after emancipation the situation began to be stabilized and a code, part statutory, part customary, emerged which remained influential to the 1940's. The laws which constituted the framework of the system need not be enumerated in detail. The fields covered included poor law settlement, bastardy, emigration, the relations of landlord and tenant and the licensing of most types of small traders. The general effect was to restrict the numbers of those engaging in occupations outside the plantation system, and to reduce mobility across the borders of this system; while within it the worker was bound to his employer by a complex of obligations, and in particular by the "located labourer" system, which made the tenure of estate housing conditional on the performance of labour on the estate. The employer

was of course bound by a reciprocal obligation to provide work for his labour force, and the system is not to be looked on as one of unqualified exploitation. But in a situation where free land for housing was most difficult to obtain it imposed a rigid restraint on the labour market, impeding the transfer of labour from agriculture to other industries in Barbados or overseas.

This rigidity was most apparent in the years from about 1861 to about 1881. During this period the number of men at work, the number employed in agriculture and the value of the sugar crop remained remarkably constant, in spite of a steady increase of population. But the system was an unstable one, and after the explosion of 1876 had forced a change in the legal framework the balance of the labour market altered rapidly.

This alteration was connected with a number of changes in the economic structure of the island, and especially of the sugar industry. The traditional orientation of the industry had been to certain English importing houses as buyers and as providers of capital, and this was reinforced by the fact that many plantations were held by absentee owners in England. As prices in London declined sugar began to be sold in the North American market, and hence was more conveniently handled by local merchants. This change, with the low level of sugar prices in the 1890's and the urgent need for capital investment to increase productivity, produced a capital crisis; and many estates passed through the Court of Chancery into new ownership. At first the new planter class was drawn largely from the former managers and overseers; ultimately, however, after the further crises of 1921 and 1929, the present situation was reached in which a large part of the industry is controlled by one company which acts as both merchant and plantation owner. This process, with other lesser changes such as the increase in the importance of Barbados as a coaling station, may be summed up by saying that the location of economic control has shifted since 1881 from the planters and attorneys of the country to Bridgetown.

This background is necessary to understand the rapid changes in the labour market after 1881. Economic and social changes taken together have made available opportunities for employment outside agriculture. At first these were mainly in transport and trade, and went along with the development of Bridgetown as a mercantile port. The general depression in agriculture throughout the area tended to choke off emigration to neighbouring islands. But the development of Central America which began with the cutting of the Panama Canal in the 1900's induced a massive emigration which actually reduced the total population from 183,000 in 1891 to 157,000 in 1921, in spite of the annual rate of natural increase of between 1 and 2 per cent.

The workers who emigrated at this time were mostly men. The number of men available for work within the island was markedly reduced (the male labour force fell from 45,000 in 1891 to 37,000 in 1921) and almost the whole



of this reduction fell on agriculture; the number of women available for work was less affected. The result appears to have been to strengthen the bias of the labour market toward female employment. The number of women available for work had always exceeded the number of men by about 5:4; by 1921 the proportion was about 5:3. At that date the Barbadian economy presented the unusual picture of a labour force which included almost the whole of the adult population, men and women. The extent to which women could directly take over men's jobs was limited by custom and by the need to combine wage work with household duties; but certain kinds of jobs which allowed this combination — farming, seamstress work, laundering — were expanded. These were, of course, relatively low paid jobs, but the large amounts remitted home by emigrants — as high as £150,000 a year in some years between 1910 and 1920 — shows that many of those who worked at these jobs received considerable additional income as remittances.

In the 1920's and 1930's the disproportion between the numbers of men and women in the island began to disappear, partly through the natural growth of the population, partly through the return of former emigrants. The consequence was not a return to the labour market pattern of the 1870's, but a period of accumulating strain ending in the explosion of 1937. The trends which had begun to manifest themselves before 1900 toward an increase in the number of urban service workers, a decrease in the numbers in agriculture and domestic service and a gradual liberation of women with families from wage work were resumed — all the more so since many of the returned emigrants had capital in the form of skill or money which they would hardly sacrifice by a return to location on the plantation. Up to the end of the nineteenth century the relation of employer and worker in Barbados had been controlled at least as much by social custom as by a pure market relationship. The decay of this social system, hastened by the change in the ownership of the sugar industry and by the different attitudes acquired by emigrants, imposed on the worker in the lean years of the depression an intolerable insecurity.

The years 1938-46 show the labour market adjusting slowly and with difficulty to the new situation. The relative prosperity brought about by the higher sugar price permitted a rise in wages which eased the transition; but the dominating factor, from the point of view of the structure of the market, is the emergence of wages as the main regulating mechanism free of the institutional restraints of the traditional system, and of collective bargaining as the accepted method of wage determination. The point has now been reached at which, in the two crucial areas of the economy, the sugar industry and the port, a single employers' organization bargains with a single trade union.

Table 1 gives the numbers following various occupations according to the census of 1921 and 1946. The 1921 figures have been re-classified so as to be on the same basis as those for 1946. Two points may be made about

the labour force in 1946. The first is that the proportion of women employed had declined considerably since 1921, but was still relatively high. The second is that agriculture, while still the most important single industry in the labour market, accounted for only one-fifth of the labour force. It is still true that agriculture occupies a special place in the Barbadian economy, in that its prosperity directly affects the level of employment in other industries, while the converse is not so markedly true; but it is no longer permissible to think of agriculture as the typical Barbadian occupation.

TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION, 1921 AND 1946

	1921		1946	
	No. ('000)	%	No. ('000)	%
<b>Males:</b>				
Aged 15 and over:				
Agriculture, quarrying, fishing, forestry	13.1	36.3	14.8	27.4
Factory and workshop	5.9	16.3	8.9	16.4
Construction	3.8	10.6	7.0	12.9
Transport and communication	3.7	10.2	3.6	6.7
Trade and finance	2.2	6.0	3.0	5.6
Professional and public service and clerical	2.0	5.6	4.5	8.3
Personal service	1.8	5.1	2.2	4.0
Labourers (non-farm)	1.0	2.7	4.8	8.8
Not gainfully occupied	1.7	4.8	5.6	10.3
Total	36.2	100.0	54.2	100.0
Under 15:				
Employed	2.6	9.8	1.1	3.6
Total	26.6	100.0	31.6	100.0
<b>Females:</b>				
Aged 15 and over				
Agriculture, quarrying, fishing, forestry	19.1	29.0	11.1	14.9
Factory and workshop	9.1	13.8	6.6	8.8
Construction	—	—	—	—
Transport and communication	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Trade and finance	7.2	11.0	6.6	8.9
Professional and public service and clerical	1.1	1.7	1.9	2.5
Personal service	18.0	27.3	13.6	18.2
Labourers (non-farm)	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.9
Not gainfully occupied	10.0	15.2	34.0	45.5
Total	65.8	100.0	74.6	100.0
Under 15:				
Employed	2.1	7.6	1.1	3.3
Total	27.2	100.0	32.4	100.0

## EMPLOYMENT 1946-55

The first of the specific terms of reference of the 1955 employment survey called on me to "ascertain the number of persons employed (i) regularly (ii) casually (iii) seasonally".

The average number of employed found at the two crop-time surveys of February and April, 1955 was 42.8 thousand men and 31.1 thousand women. The average number of employed found at the two "hard-time" surveys of September and November was 37.7 thousand men and 28.8 thousand women.

A comparison with the number of employed reported at the census of

April 1946 and with estimates based on the Household Budget Survey of 1951-2 suggests that the number of men employed has remained roughly stable over the period of 1946-55, while the number of women employed has declined. This may appear surprising since the production of the island has tended upward between these years. The output of the sugar industry, an important indicator of the level of general economic activity, was 134,000 tons sugar equivalent in 1946, 168,000 tons in 1952 and rather more than this in 1955. Further, the national income estimates for 1949-53 give no indication of any decline in economic activity over those years. It may be assumed that the national product in real terms was significantly higher in 1955 than in 1946, and not lower than in 1951-2.

Certain points may be mentioned in connection with this failure of employment to rise in a period of rising output. One is the trend toward the withdrawal of women from the labour force in order to look after their own families, which goes far back in Barbadian history and has been reinforced since the 1920's by the return to normal of the sex balance of the population after a period of heavy male emigration.

Secondly, it is possible to point out instances of changes which have led in recent years to a reduction in the number of jobs, and of other changes which have meant that a greater output can be achieved by the same number of workers. In the sugar industry, for example, while the trend of output has on the whole been upward since the depression, there have been considerable economies in labour per ton. For example, if we take 1939 wage rates as standard it required \$21 worth of labour to produce a ton of sugar in 1931-5, \$17 worth in 1941-5 and \$11 worth in 1951-3. Specifically, while the increased cane tonnages of recent years have needed more labour in cutting, there have been economies which have tended to reduce the demand for women workers, particularly in crop; for instance, the greater use of mechanical transport which can go into the field reduces the demand for the heading of canes, and the use of the "scrambler" eliminates the women's job of feeding canes into the mill.

There appear to have been declines since 1946 in the number employed in domestic service, in dressmaking and in unskilled town jobs. The latter is probably due at least partly to improvements in the transport and handling of goods in Bridgetown, including bulk shipment of molasses. The decline in the numbers of domestic servants and seamstresses had begun before 1946, as is shown in the census report. Both these occupations are likely to contract in a period of rising incomes and rising standards, since many women who work at such jobs do so only when the household's income from other sources is insufficient.

The terms of reference required that regularly and casually employed workers should be distinguished. This distinction is not easy to establish objectively. It would no doubt be possible to classify all workers hired by the day or piece as casual, and all those hired by the week or month as

regular, but such a classification would not correspond to the worker's own conceptions. This is particularly true in the sugar industry, where a large proportion of daily paid and task workers regard themselves as "regulars" in the sense that they look forward to getting work each week from a particular employee, and usually do get it.

The course followed in the sample survey was therefore to accept the worker's own classification of himself as either regular or casual, except that so-called "casual" workers who had in fact worked continuously and full-time for the same employer for two months were set down as "regular" workers. On this basis the majority of urban workers were found to be in regular work. The proportion of casual workers in the urban area in April was 23 per cent, and the variation in this proportion during the year was slight. In the rural areas the proportion of workers casually employed was higher, being 30 per cent in April and 42 per cent in hard times.

The distinction between full-time and part-time workers is easier to establish than that between regular and casual workers, and of equal importance. In the sample surveys all those employed who worked less than 40 hours in the survey week were classed as part-time workers, except that professional and white-collar workers whose normal working week was less than 40 hours were classed as full-time workers if they completed this normal number of hours.

In the urban area the proportion of part-time workers was low, being 4.7 thousand out of 25.2 thousand employed in crop, and 4.6 thousand out of 24.6 thousand in hard times.<sup>a</sup> At all surveys two-thirds of all the urban employed were in jobs that were both regular and full-time.

In the rural areas there was a marked change in the balance between full-time and part-time jobs from crop to hard times. In crop 10.3 thousand persons were in part-time jobs out of 48.7 thousand rural employed; in hard times the proportion rose to 21.9 thousand out of 42.0 thousand. It is worth noting that the great majority of those reported as partially employed stated at all surveys that they would be willing to take further work at the same rates of wages.

The number of persons employed part-time may be taken as an indication, though not an exact measure, of the extent of underemployed in the economy. Another possible indicator of underemployment is the proportion of workers who earn less than would be earned by an unskilled worker in a full week at the standard rate. The number of workers with sub-standard earnings is shown in Table III, (Appendix I), the standard being taken as \$10 per week. It should be noted that this table refers to persons of 20 years of age and over only, since young people of age less than 20 will normally have earnings lower than the adult rate even when fully employed; and that the data have been

<sup>a</sup>Except where otherwise stated, the crop-time figures refer to the average of the estimates given by the two surveys of February and April, and the hard-times figures to the average of the estimates of the surveys of September and November, for persons aged 15 and over (see Table II, Appendix 1).

analysed for April and September only. It will be seen that in agriculture there is a marked seasonal fluctuation in the proportion of workers with sub-standard earnings, which for men stands at 12 per cent in April and 69 per cent in September.

The data on part-time work and on earnings confirm that in hard times a large proportion of the labour force of Barbados is underemployed, in the sense that the individuals concerned, though employed, are willing and able to provide labour in any given week to a greater market value than is demanded of them in that week at current rates of wages.

The terms of reference of the survey required an estimate of seasonal employment. For male workers this can be obtained in broad terms by comparing the employment estimates for April and September (Table III, Appendix I) since these months represent the peak and trough of seasonal employment in agriculture, which is the main source of seasonal fluctuation in the economy. These figures refer to adult workers only, as mentioned above. The number of men employed in agricultural work in April (including sugar factories) was 16.5 thousand, and in September was 11.6 thousand, or a "float" of 4.9 thousand. The men displaced from agricultural employment either remained attached to the agricultural labour force as unemployed (2.2 thousand) or transferred to other industries, mainly skilled trades, fishing or miscellaneous labouring jobs. There is therefore a seasonal fluctuation in employment in industries other than agriculture opposite to that in agriculture itself.

It is less easy to find a simple measure of seasonal employment among women workers. The amount of work available to women in agriculture as measured by the weekly wage bill, was twice as great in April as in September. But the number of women employed would appear to have been slightly greater in the latter month — though of course the average number of hours worked and the average earnings were lower. Further, employment in industries other than agriculture also showed an increase between April and September. It would therefore probably be appropriate to speak of a seasonal variation in the intensity of female employment, rather than in the numbers employed.

There would appear to be an important difference between male and female employment in this respect. It may be assumed that the supply of male labour from a given population is relatively stable throughout the year, and the actual number employed is governed mainly by the level of demand for labour on the part of employers. The supply of female labour, on the other hand — that is, the number of women coming forward for work at a given wage rate — is influenced by the level of household incomes; when general incomes are high, the supply of labour contracts, and conversely. Thus the estimates for 1955 show the female labour force as having been lower in April (at the end of crop, after a period of high earnings for most families) and in November (after the distribution of the production bonus) than



in February and September. The practical importance of this is shown below (p. 113).

Besides the main seasonal variation in employment between crop and hard times there is also a seasonal peak at Christmas in the distributive trades. This is of less importance and the survey was not designed to give information on it.

On the basis of the sample surveys the agricultural wage bill in the survey week in April is estimated to have been 2.42 times that in September. The way in which this seasonal difference affected other indices of employment and earnings in agriculture is shown in the accompanying table.

TABLE 2. LEVEL OF HOURLY EARNINGS, WEEKLY HOURS AND NUMBER EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE, APRIL 1955 AS A PERCENTAGE OF CORRESPONDING LEVEL IN SEPTEMBER, 1955

	Men and Women Aged 20 and over		
	Men	Women	Both Sexes
Total wage bill for week			242
Proportion of men employed			118
Wage bill for week by sex	261	202	
Number employed	142	97	120
Hours worked in week	151	148	152
Average earnings per hour	122	141	133

This table illustrates the fact that in the agricultural sector men suffered a greater cut in the number employed in September in comparison with April than did the women, but that they maintained their level of earnings per hour better.

In industries other than agriculture, however, there was little seasonal change in the wage bill, though in hard times it was shared among more workers and the average level of earnings was lower than in crop, especially among men.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT 1946-55

The terms of reference of the 1955 employment survey required me to ascertain "the number of persons seeking (i) regular employment; (ii) casual employment; (iii) seasonal employment." It became clear in the course of the survey that bare numerical estimates of these numbers would be unhelpful, and that it would be necessary to attempt an analysis of the general unemployment situation.

This analysis may seem over-elaborate to anyone who simply wants to know the number of persons unemployed and seeking work. Unfortunately it is impossible to give an answer to this question which is both simple and accurate. The detailed reasons for this will emerge in the course of the argument. It may be said here, however, that the practice of measuring unemployment by a single unemployment rate is only possible in an economy where fairly rigid lines are drawn between those in the labour force and those outside it and these lines are not often or easily overstepped. Most of the studies of unemployment done in the past have been concerned with

such economies — for example, that of the United Kingdom. Of recent years attempts to study unemployment in other economies have led to the recognition that a single unemployment rate is of doubtful usefulness in most poor countries and that the measure used must be adapted to the situation.

The simplest definition of the unemployed includes all those who are not either employed in gainful work on the one hand, or on the other hand covered by a category which puts them outside the labour force. The chief such categories are: housewives, retired persons, schoolchildren, and disabled persons. On this definition, the number of men unemployed was 4.6 thousand in April 1946, 8.6 thousand in crop 1952 and 9.2 thousand in crop 1955. The corresponding figures for women are 5.7 thousand, 12.0 thousand and 18.5 thousand. It is of course not surprising that in a period of increasing population and stable or falling employment the number of unemployed should have increased sharply.

The total of unemployed in 1954-5 showed a marked fluctuation between crop and hard times, as was to be expected. Comparing the two hard-times estimates with the two crop estimates they range from 31.4 thousand to 27.7 thousand, and most of this "float" was in the rural areas.

To accept the broad definition of unemployment given above in estimating the magnitude of unemployment as a social problem would clearly be wrong, since it would include many persons who are voluntarily unemployed. A more useful definition is one which excludes from the total those unemployed who are not willing to take work at the current rates in their usual occupation. The remainder are called here the total unemployed available for work.

On this definition, which probably approaches as nearly as any simple definition can to the requirements of an unemployment figure comparable with that used in industrial economies, the average number of unemployed available for work varied in 1955 between 18.3 thousand in crop and 20.7 thousand in hard times, or 19 and 23 per cent of the labour force.

This rate is higher in the urban area than the rural. In crop the rural figure is 13 per cent and the urban 29 per cent; in hard times the figures are 21 and 27 per cent. The urban rate is stable over the year, while the rural rate shows a marked seasonal movement.

An unemployment rate of 20 per cent is not out of line with results obtained elsewhere in the West Indies. The Jamaican census of 1943, for example, which was taken out of crop, found an unemployment rate (among wage earners only) of 30 per cent., and a sample survey of Antigua in July 1950 found 25 per cent of the labour force to be unemployed.

The intensity with which jobs are sought is very variable. At one extreme we may cite the unemployed head of a family who is making persistent efforts to find work, spending most of his day going from one possible employer to another; at the other extreme, the boy or girl who has just left school and would take an offered job but has not yet begun to look actively for work. To classify these intensities is not easy but a fairly objective line



can be drawn between those who are actively seeking work and those who are merely willing to work. In the 1955 survey the distinction was based primarily on the worker's own statement to the interviewer; cases where the claim to be seeking work could be substantiated from other information on the questionnaire were separated from the rest and shown as "seeking work — confirmed". Cases where the claim was not confirmed amounted to about 21 per cent of those seeking work.

The results showed that the number seeking work could not reasonably be used as an index of general unemployment, since it was uniformly lower in hard times than in crop. This is not an unexpected result for on the one hand the higher potential earnings in crop make it worthwhile to spend more effort on job-seeking, while on the other hand it is firmly established in the worker's mind that in hard times the chances of getting a job are slight. But this result emphasizes the fluidity of the labour market and the difficulty of establishing who is genuinely seeking work in an economy where there is no uniformly accepted method of showing the desire for work — as there is, for example, in the United Kingdom through the Employment Exchange system.

The terms of reference called for separate estimates of the numbers seeking regular and casual work. There seems, however, to be no means of establishing this distinction firmly or of deciding the numbers involved with any accuracy. Undoubtedly the number of workers who would prefer casual to regular work at the same level of earnings is very small. But it is also clear there are groups who, being normally engaged in particular types of casual work, have adapted their lives to this kind of work and would not readily change to a regular occupation. This is true of many port workers. It would seem reasonable to put the number of unemployed workers who would prefer casual work at not more than two thousand.

A special problem is presented by the small but conspicuous group of unemployed who live by begging in the business and middle-class shopping area of Bridgetown. Some of these provide imaginary services, such as car watching, while others beg without pretence. A similar group exists to a much less extent in the middle-class suburbs of St. Michael. There exists no method by which these cases can be identified in a large scale survey, since they are not likely to make a frank statement of their way of life; and all that can be safely said is that they are numerically insignificant in the context of unemployment in the island as a whole.

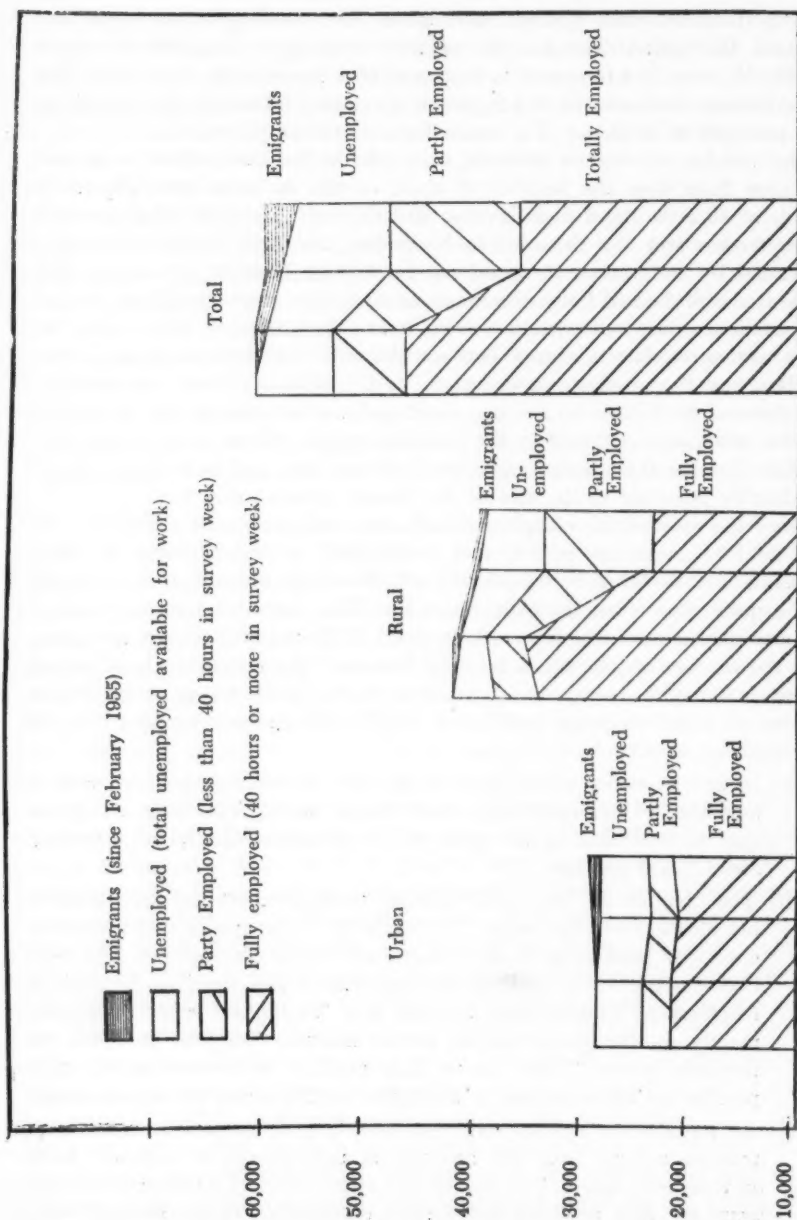
The terms of reference also required an estimate of the number seeking seasonal employment. I have assumed that what is required is not an estimate of the number preferring seasonal to regular work, since it is clear that hardly any worker wants seasonal work in preference to full-time work, or will refuse seasonal work if no full-time work is available; but rather an estimate of the numbers who offer themselves for work at one season but have withdrawn from the labour force at another season.

There is no evidence that the male labour force undergoes any significant seasonal fluctuation. The number of men working or available for work (Table II) was 50.4 thousand in crop and 46.6 thousand in hard times, but the difference between the two figures is accounted for mainly by emigration and provides no evidence of a desire for seasonal employment.

The number of women working or available for work shows a greater variation than does the number of men, as can be seen from Fig. 1. It stands at 43.2 thousand in February, 40.3 thousand in April, 42.4 thousand in September and 38.8 thousand in November, and little of this variation is explained by emigration. It would not be correct, however, to assume that there is a well defined body of women workers who enter the labour market at certain seasons, and withdraw from it at others. Rather, there exists for most women workers a choice between domestic and income-earning occupations, and the numbers choosing one or the other will vary according to the demand for labour on the one hand and the situation of the household on the other, as mentioned in the previous section. There is no reason why in this situation the seasonal variation between crop and hard times should be directly reflected in the size of the female labour force.

Since the most obvious application of these unemployment estimates is in the field of economic policy, and particularly to the problem of what measures can be taken to remedy the situation they disclose, it is necessary to be quite clear what the estimates mean. The statement that the number of unemployed available for work in April 1955 was 18,000 does not mean that the number of jobs which must be "created" (by economic development or emigration) to reduce unemployment to the point where it no longer represents a serious social problem is 18,000. Allowance must be made for the following points:

- (a) In any economy where workers are free to change jobs a certain minimum of unemployment must always exist. This may be in the case of Barbados, of the order of 3 per cent of the labour force, or about 2,000 persons.
- (b) The creation of "new" jobs reduces unemployment not only directly but also in two other ways. The spending of the incomes of the newly employed workers in its turn creates additional employment. The ratio between the direct addition to employment and the final increase in employment (taking into account this "multiplier" effect) depends mainly on the proportion of labour incomes likely to be spent on imported goods. There are no firm grounds for estimating this proportion for Barbados but a "multiplier" of 1.5 seems not unreasonable.
- (c) An addition to employment, particularly male employment, tends to transfer women from the category of unemployed to domestic work in their own homes. The size of this effect cannot be measured exactly from the data available but a close examination of the seasonal variations found in 1955 suggests that here again a coefficient of 1.5



Feb. April Sep. Nov.

Fig. 1. Estimated Numbers Employed, Unemployed and Emigrated at the Surveys of

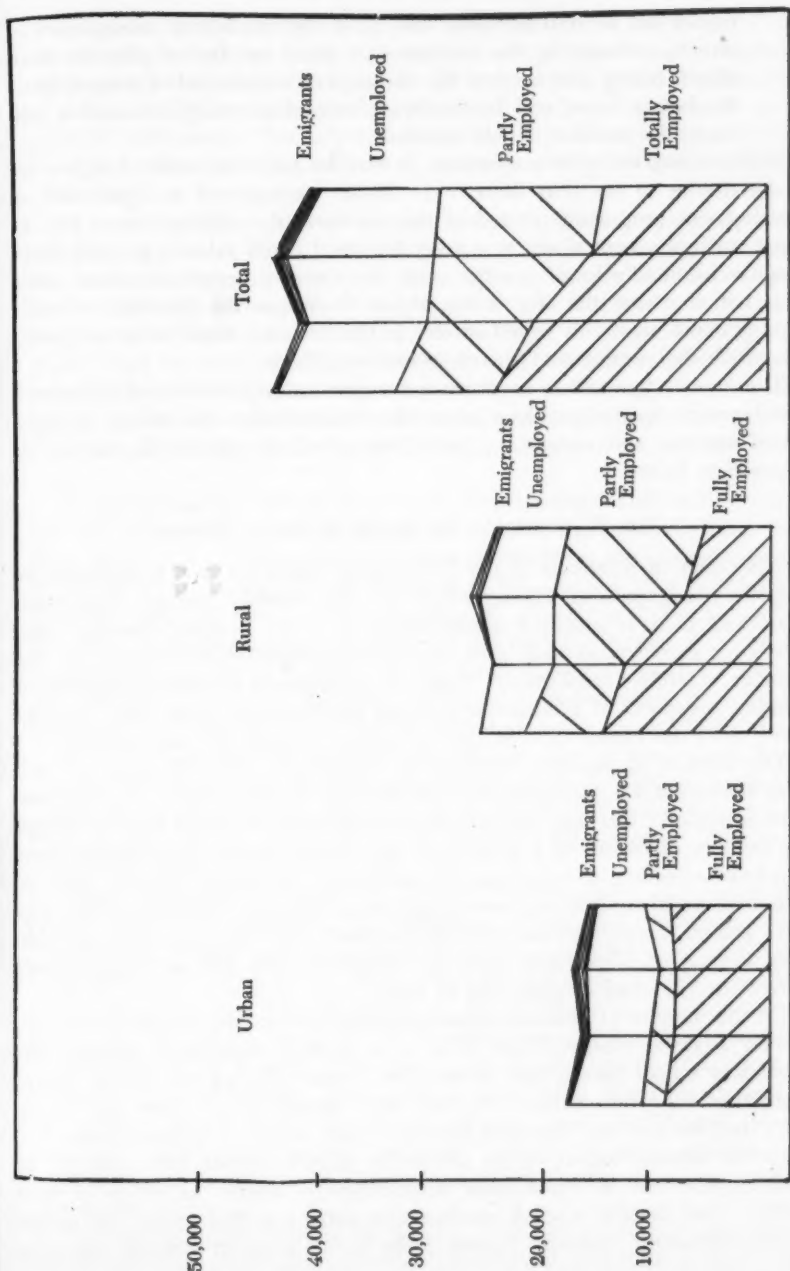


Fig. I (B) Women Aged 15 and Over

would not be unreasonable; that is, if the number of unemployed is directly reduced by the creation of a given number of jobs, the final effect, taking into account the consequent withdrawal of women from the labour force, will be to reduce unemployment by one and a half times the number of jobs created.

Summarizing the above, therefore, it may be said that while it is true as a description to say that there were 18,000 unemployed in April 1955, a development programme aimed at the creation of sufficient new jobs to bring unemployment down to a tolerable level could take as its immediate aim a substantially lower number — on the above assumptions, about 7,000. It is not of course the aim of this report to discuss the feasibility of such a programme, since this would involve judgments on general economic policy for which the employment survey provides no basis.

The above argument is in terms of the present population and of internal development. Special problems arise when one considers the effects of population increase and emigration, and these are dealt with in the section on emigration below.

#### THE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

The terms of reference of the 1955 survey called for me to ascertain "as regards young persons leaving school (i) the number leaving school each year, and their educational qualifications; (ii) the number offering themselves for employment each year, by types of employment sought; (iii) the number obtaining employment, types of employment obtained, employment offering prospects of advancement being distinguished from other employment; (iv) the extent to which the demands of employers are satisfied".

The number of children reaching the elementary school-leaving age each year is about 4,300; and since the number who do not attend school at some time is negligible, this may also be taken as the total of school leavers, though the number of leavers in a given year may depart somewhat from this average level according to economic circumstances. Of these, slightly over 20 per cent, or about 900, are secondary school leavers, including those who have passed through private secondary schools, and this proportion is probably increasing. This figure may be compared with 200 secondary school leavers in 1938 and roughly 450 in 1944.

On the number of children offering themselves for employment each year, it may first be observed that there is a marked separation between the secondary school leavers and others, the former offering themselves almost invariably for white collar jobs, the latter almost never doing so. Taking boys first, we may say therefore that the stream of school leavers divides into two. The annual output of the secondary schools (about 450) attempts to find employment in white-collar occupations — mainly as office or sales clerks — but there is a small number who enter a skilled trade. The output of the elementary schools (about 1,550 boys) is again divided into two,

the more ambitious trying to become apprenticed to a skilled trade, while the remainder drift into other, lower-status occupations. It appears from the April survey that only occupations of skilled grade or above form the object of definite job plans — those who enter lower grade occupations do so in a spirit of indifference. The only exceptions are a few jobs which are preferred for special reasons, such as those of messengers in government offices and of seamen.

In evaluating the problems of young people in finding employment there are three quantities which between them sum up the situation as far as it can be briefly done — the number planning to enter jobs of different grades, the number who take up work in each grade as a first job, and the number of jobs which will be available after the stage of adolescence has been passed and the worker is finally established in the labour force. I have attempted to estimate these numbers for the three main groups — white-collar, skilled and other — but it must be admitted that the estimates are precarious. They are, however, in accordance with other data and with my own observation.

It may be said that 16 per cent of the boys leaving school in 1955 planned to enter white-collar jobs and 46 per cent planned to become skilled tradesmen, leaving 38 per cent for lower grade occupations; the proportions taking first jobs in these categories is very close to this. Between the distribution of planned jobs, however, and the distribution of jobs available at ages past 20, there is a considerable disparity. If we take the numbers in the three occupational groups in the 1955 labour force at ages 20 to 29 as a measure of the jobs available, it would appear that, after allowance has been made for mortality between the age group 14-19 and the age group 20-29, the total number of jobs available will be only 85 per cent of those needed if the present job plans of the boys aged 14-19 are to be fulfilled. For the white-collar group jobs available will be only 69 per cent of those needed, for the skilled group 60 per cent, and for the remainder 99 per cent. The implications of these figures are discussed below.

Among girls the distribution of planned jobs appears to be somewhat different from that of first jobs. The distribution of planned jobs is estimated as: white-collar, 35 per cent; seamstresses, 20 per cent; others, 45 per cent. The distribution of first jobs is: white-collar, 16 per cent; seamstresses, 45 per cent; others, 38 per cent. Among girls, the intention to seek a white-collar job is by no means confined to secondary school leavers, as elementary school leavers act as shop attendants in the smaller stores and shops, and these must for consistency be classed as white-collar jobs even though there is a fairly distinct social line drawn between "store clerks" and "shop attendants", since the nature of their work is much the same, and there is no reason to put the ability of the average "clerk" higher than that of a shop attendant.

Two points make it difficult to give a simple statistical picture of the employment situation of girls. The first is the fact, which emerged clearly



from the 1955 survey, that the majority of those entering "apprenticeship" as seamstresses do not intend to follow that as an adult profession; they wish to learn to sew, partly to help them find jobs as nursemaids and general servants but mainly for the sake of being able to look after their own clothes and those of their eventual families. The second point, which is linked with the first, is that a large proportion of girls enter the labour market for only a short time in their late teens and then withdraw to become housewives, or on becoming mothers. The census of 1946 showed about 25 per cent of women between 20 and 29 outside the labour force for these reasons; the 1955 survey showed a corresponding figure of 46 per cent.

When allowance has been made, so far as possible, for the latter point, it appears that the jobs available for women will amount to 90 per cent of those needed to fulfil the job plans of the present age group 14-19, the ratio for the various grades being: white-collar, 64 per cent; seamstresses, 78 per cent; others, 115 cent.

It should be mentioned that the disproportion between jobs available and jobs needed shown above is calculated on the basis of the existing labour force situation, in which unemployment rates are already high. The disparities therefore point to an increase in these unemployment rates except in so far as the situation is relieved by new job opportunities. These figures do not, however, take account of the present heavy emigration, since few young people will emigrate before having held some local job. An exception must be made in the case of those girls who pass directly from a school to training as student nurses in the United Kingdom.

To summarize: young people are entering the labour market at a time when unemployment, even in the most favourable age groups, is already high; they are doing so in numbers greater than can be absorbed by the existing labour demand and they are showing a preference in their plans for the higher grade occupations which tends to concentrate unemployment in these occupations. These are general factors which affect all groups of young persons leaving school.

In addition, of course, the difficulties of each occupational group are affected by particular influences and it may be worthwhile describing briefly the situation in each group. The white-collar group is one which has attracted particular attention because it has the highest status and because it tends to be more vocal and influential than its mere numbers would suggest. The recruits to upper levels of this group, the children who will pass *via* university into the upper levels of management or into the more remunerative professions (chiefly medicine and law), present few problems of employment. Their numbers are restricted by the cost of the training required and their high mobility ensures that they are not dependent on the local demand for employment; indeed there may be a real danger that the best of them will increasingly seek work outside Barbados, in view of the discrepancy between the local salary scales and general opportunities of promotion and those in other territories.



With those professional and clerical groups whose field for employment lies wholly in Barbados the situation is more serious. One such group consists of elementary school teachers. The intake of school leavers into the teaching profession in 1954-5 is estimated by the Department of Education at between 80 and 90, forming the greatest single avenue into the professional group. When these have obtained permanent appointments they are of course protected from most of the vicissitudes of the labour market, but most go through a period of temporary employment. It is generally believed among teachers that there is a growing fringe of temporarily appointed teachers who remain without security for some years, often with only intermittent work, and such a development would be fully in accordance with the underlying labour market situation. It would, however, be felt as a threat to the status of the profession.

An analogous situation arises among recruits to the clerical and higher grades of government service. The numbers concerned here are much smaller; data supplied by the Chief Secretary's Office give the annual entry as about 20, varying from year to year. (The average annual number of applications in 1951-4 was about 120). Here too the security of permanent staff is high but there exists a fringe of intermittently employed staff on temporary appointment.

There are considerable numbers of clerical workers outside government service, but no firm estimate of the annual intake of this sector is available. On the basis of a questionnaire circulated to the principal wholesale houses and firms of similar type in Bridgetown, it may be tentatively estimated that 50-60 office staff a year are needed by these "city" firms, and possibly an equal number by other firms in the island. The employment problems of the former group are given a particular public interest by the fact that many "city" firms have traditionally employed only white persons in clerical jobs (the same is true, but to a less extent, of the employment of sales people). A number of factors have combined to weaken this tradition, one of the most directly effective being the fact that with the expansion of secondary education the efficiency of many of the potential coloured applicants for such jobs is manifestly greater than that of the average white applicant; and there seems to be every indication that racial distinctions in this field will become of less and less importance as a factor in the labour market.

The largest single group in the white-collar class is that of sales-people in shops and stores. Of the number of recruits to this group, again only tentative estimates are possible — say 50 a year to the bigger Bridgetown stores, and (very tentatively indeed) 100, mainly girls, to other establishments. Among the "city" firms covered by the questionnaire survey the practice was to take on young persons at 17 years old or over. Among the other employers of sales people there are clearly many who accept recruits younger and with less qualifications, and the least satisfactory labour practices are probably to be found in this group (though not, of course, in all firms within it).

There are a number of reasons for focusing attention on this group. In the first place, attendants in small shops are often called on to accept longer hours and smaller wages than in larger establishments simply because the survival of the firm depends on strict economy and flexible operation — the shopkeeper himself accepting similar disadvantages. Secondly, job security in such work is commonly small, there being no hierarchy of appeal against dismissal as in larger firms, and union strength in this field being usually slight. These are general points; specific to the Barbados situation is the peculiarity of the statutory minimum wage scale for Bridgetown shop assistants which, by prescribing a flat minimum of \$5 a week up to the 16th birthday and \$10 over that age, makes it relatively unprofitable to employ 17 and 18 year olds, and affords a temptation to take on young persons at 15 only to dismiss them after a year's employment. Another local factor of decisive importance is that since this is one of the few avenues from elementary school education to a white-collar job it attracts a disproportionate number of applicants for any vacant job. This was well shown by the case of the Bridgetown store which recently received 300 applications in reply to its advertisement of six vacancies. In view of these facts, I see no reason to disbelieve the report that many school leavers find dead-end jobs in this type of work. Moreover, this is the only important part of the white-collar field with a substantial proportion of part-time and casual work.

The situation facing the recruit to the white-collar group is one of intense competition to secure a job; but once entry is secured there is the prospect of regular work with reasonable job security, except among the salespeople in the smaller stores whose case has just been discussed. Turning now to the situation which confronts the entrant into the skilled trades, we find equally fierce competition to enter but smaller rewards to the successful entrant.

In the skilled trades the men must be discussed separately, since their problems are distinct from those of women. The term "skilled trades" is used here for all occupations to which it is traditionally necessary to serve an apprenticeship. The most important to the school leavers are the building trades (masons, carpenters, plumbers, painters, electricians); mechanics, fitters and other engineering tradesmen; tailors and shoemakers; cabinet makers; printers and bakers. Entry into the cooper's trade has lost most of its importance since the bulk shipment of molasses was introduced.

Among elementary school leavers more than half of the boys plan at some time to learn a skilled trade. In the 1955 employment survey young persons with elementary education seldom expressed any other positive job preference, and the impression is strong that this is the only avenue of upward occupational mobility considered by the elementary school boy.

This preference can hardly be explained on the basis of the earnings of the skilled worker. The average earnings of the sample of skilled workers covered by the 1955 survey showed that those in work earned more per hour than the unskilled worker (about 32 cents per hour against a basic average

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of 22 cents for the labourer) but less than the average for cutters and loaders in crop (35 cents per hour) or for port workers (about 40 cents per hour). Moreover, the rate of unemployment was higher for skilled workers than the average — at ages 20-29, for instance, being 30 per cent against an average for all occupations of 16 per cent. It appears that the earnings of an agricultural labourer who worked as a cutter in crop and, say, a fork-worker in hard times would be greater over the year than those of a skilled worker outside agriculture, provided both had average luck in finding employment. The preference for skilled occupations among school leavers may therefore be assumed to be based on non-economic factors.

It should be noted, however, that within the field of skilled trades school leavers showed a preference for certain occupations against others that is rational enough — mainly for such expanding trades as mechanic and electrician. The earnings to be expected in some scarce trades are higher than the average — e.g. welders, where earnings of \$60 a week are recorded.

The Apprentices Act of 1890 is so remote from present industrial conditions that it need not be discussed here, though it is of considerable historical interest. The Apprenticeship Bursaries Act of 1928 is of more relevance but is extremely restricted in its scope. The current situation regarding apprenticeship is clearly one of confusion, with the future depending much on the development of the Technical Institute and associated schemes. The types of apprenticeship available up to the present have varied, and except for the small number of bursaries have been very informal. Most male apprentices appear to be found in one of three industrial settings, and to each of these corresponds a form of apprenticeship.

First come the apprentices in sugar factories. These may enter the factory young, but rarely become full apprentices till they are 17 or more, and may continue as such until they are 25. In the crop season they work mainly as machine tenders and greasers, the skilled mechanical work being done rather in hard times when the machines are stripped for overhaul. These apprentices are often trained with a specific job in mind, the number of jobs in the factory being fixed. Thus, though they are apprenticed rather late by most standards, the apprenticeship is well integrated into the industry and does not raise acute problems of placing the trained man. The system is probably weak on general engineering background and principles, but strong on the particular machinery with which the factory operates. The fact that there are a number of repetitive jobs for young people around the factory at reasonable wages, at least in crop, makes it possible to select on an informal basis and to defer this selection until the apprentice is physically an adult, without great hardship to him.

Heavy mechanical work for the sugar industry is concentrated in Bridgetown rather than at the factories. The foundries may be classified with the urban engineering works and garages as another setting for apprenticeship. Generally speaking, these firms take apprentices younger than the sugar in-

dustry, though the foundries are nearer the sugar factory pattern in this respect. They necessarily concentrate more on general mechanical and electrical training and less on the maintenance of specific pieces of machinery, and conform more closely to the conventional picture of apprenticeship.

The most serious problems seem to lie in the construction trades, where there are large numbers of apprentice carpenters and masons. It is difficult here for a regular system of apprenticeship to take root because outside the Public Works Department there are few large contractors employing direct labour. The general system of building is through sub-contracts let to small employers whose own employment is irregular and earnings often low, and whose standards of work are in many cases poor. An apprentice to one of these may therefore be poorly paid, irregularly employed, with no guarantee of competent and continuous instruction and under constant temptation to move from one master to another in search of work.

It is among apprentices of this type that "abortive" apprenticeships are most commonly found. Boys enter a trade soon after leaving school, but are removed when the family cannot afford to support them and revert to unemployment or set up as tradesmen without having completed their training, thus swelling the number of men who can lay claim to a trade. It may be noted that there is a tendency in the country for boys to meet the problem of support during apprenticeship by working as loaders or on similar work in crop to get money for tools and their keep for the rest of the year. In April 1955 the employment survey found that the number of boys aged 14-19 who had worked as apprentices but were no longer doing so was equal to the number still in apprenticeship.

Apprenticeship in Barbados in recent years has clearly not conformed to the traditional pattern, by which a master craftsman instructs a boy who is his employee in his own skills over a fixed period of years and to certain fixed standards, with defined obligations on either side. Instead the situation has brought into the open a conflict of interest which is controlled by the traditional system but not eliminated, namely, that the primary interest of the independent craftsman is against setting up a competitor for himself, so that he is tempted to make the apprentice an unskilled helper rather than a learner. Historically, apprenticeship has been a device to restrict competition, not to promote it. The craftsman who is also an employer seeking journeymen to work for him to a satisfactory standard has, it is true, an interest in adequate training, and even the independent craftsman will be relieved under full employment of the need to fear his apprentice's eventual competition. In Barbados, however, unemployment has been high, the craftsman is in some trades rarely a considerable employer and apprenticeship has not served to restrict entry into the trade since it has carried no public recognition to distinguish the qualified from the unqualified. There has therefore been little motive for the small tradesman to train his apprentices satisfactorily. Young entrants have continued to take the jobs called apprentice-

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ships, to earn however little money is offered, to gain experience and to avoid the sense of uselessness attending on the wait from school leaving to physical maturity, but have had little cause to stay apprenticed for five years except in certain industries where conditions were particularly favourable.

Under conditions of heavy unemployment the function of apprenticeship in providing a smooth transition from school leaving to adult employment has tended to break down. There have been excessive numbers of boys available to be taken on as helpers at about 14 for no or very low wages, but many of these have left or been dismissed when the possibility of earning better money in casual work has presented itself or when they felt that nominal wages were not tolerable. Employers who have had a serious interest in training apprentices have been able to select very drastically from the mass of applicants, and to take boys at higher ages than the conventional beginning of apprenticeship. The rejected or unconsidered applicants have formed a growing pool of young unemployed.

Among girls apprenticeship has rather a different aspect; substantially only one occupation is involved, that of dressmaking. The training is usually short — two or three years — and many of those who learn the "trade", as already mentioned, will practise it only desultorily, possibly only for their own family; the aim is to acquire domestic as much as industrial skill, and the standard aimed at is correspondingly low. About 40 per cent of all girls take a course in "dressmaking" in the widest sense, but only about 10 per cent eventually set up as dressmakers, taking in work from the public and carrying it out on a machine. The standard of work even among these appears to be low.

Into both white-collar and skilled occupations there are accepted avenues for the school leaver to take. But there remains the wide range of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs which accounts for about 40 per cent of the labour force. The situation facing entrants into these jobs is different as between town and country. According to the returns of school leavers for 1951-4, about 30 per cent of boys and 10 per cent of girls who left rural elementary schools in those years went into agriculture, making this the biggest single source of employment for school leavers outside the white-collar and skilled groups. The 1955 survey results suggest that this underestimates the importance of agricultural labour as a first job, since in the sample 32 per cent of boys and 17 per cent of girls over the whole island found their first job in this field. The greatest part of these first jobs was in the sugar industry.

This industry offers an easy path into employment both because of the peak of seasonal demand in crop, when the fringes of the labour force are called on, and because it has a traditional system of division of work into jobs graduated according to age (among other factors). There are therefore a number of jobs to which young persons can look forward without fear of being displaced by adult competition — grass pickers, water carriers, and so on. At a later age, boys can graduate to loading and later cutting; girls can pass to hoe-work and loading. This is an important factor in easing the transition from school to working status in the country areas.



In St. Michael, by contrast, there is no such graduated system of jobs, since agriculture is there comparatively unimportant, and it is much harder to pass from school to a labouring job which has some assurance of a regular future income. The general unemployment level is also higher there than in the country. The problems presented by young persons who are unemployed or employed only in casual jobs is therefore so much more intractable in the urban area. The 1955 survey found an April unemployment rate among persons aged 14-19 in St. Michael of 50 per cent for boys and 72 per cent for girls, and so far as can be deduced from the relatively small sample involved the level was as high at age 19 as at 14.

It has been necessary to describe the employment situation of young people at some length in order to emphasize that it is both serious and complex. Its seriousness lies not merely in the economic loss and personal privation involved in heavy unemployment, but in the possible social repercussions. It is part of the process of becoming a responsible citizen that the young man or woman should have an opportunity of earning a living and founding a family; if this opportunity is not forthcoming it is not likely that the transition from childhood to citizenship will be successfully completed.

The terms of reference called for a distinction between "employment offering prospects of advancement" and other employment. Such a distinction is not simple, since jobs may be "dead-end" for various reasons. One group cannot by its nature offer prospects of advancement, because the establishment involved is too small to allow promotion. Into this class fall domestic servants and workers in small firms like many of those who carry out sub-contracts in the building industry. A second group consists of jobs where the prospect of promotion is limited not by the size of the firm but by particular circumstances and practices surrounding it. Thus messengers and deliverymen in most firms have no prospect of advancement because of the gap between their qualifications and those of the clerical worker. The labourer in the sugar industry has on the whole little prospect of promotion because of the break in the ladder between superintendent and overseer. Finally, a type of "dead-end" job is liable to arise in any occupation when the pressure of unemployment is strong simply because, as mentioned above, the employer is able to "try out" a large number of applicants for each adult job finally available.

Applying this distinction, we can say that all white-collar jobs except attendants in small shops offer prospects of advancement once the probationary period is past, though apparent dead-end jobs may arise through an excessive intake of probationers (e.g. junior reporters, supply teachers). In the skilled trades essentially the same is true; there is an excessive intake of apprentices, many of whom must be eventually rejected. The independent tradesman cannot, of course, obtain advancement in the sense of promotion within an establishment, but he can aspire to become an employer. It is at the bottom end of the occupational scale that the true dead-end jobs are

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found. The agricultural worker is something of a special case, being able to raise his status to a certain point (superintendent, factory worker) but not beyond. Domestics, too, while having no prospects of real promotion, are a special case since many desire only intermittent work and have as their eventual aim the setting up of their own household. The jobs into which the unskilled town boy goes — gardener, yard boy, messenger, deliveryman — are the most unsatisfactory. They make up only about 5 per cent of all first jobs, but their concentration in one social group increases their importance as a source of friction and social waste.

The terms of reference also require an estimate of "the extent to which the demands of employers are satisfied". There can of course be no question that the total supply of labour is ample, and complaint could only be on the score of its quality. The questionnaire which was circulated among city employers in 1955, as mentioned above, elicited surprisingly few complaints, and the same is true of interviews I had in 1955 with employers and others.

So far as there are complaints, they fall into two groups. The first is that applicants for jobs lack honesty, application and the other general qualities which make up the character of the desirable employee. This cannot, I think (though judgment on this must be subjective) be dismissed simply as *laudatio temporis acti*. There is a sufficiently clear break between the older and younger generation in Barbados in their attitudes toward work and authority to make it probable that there is a real difference between the kind of applicants employers used to get and those they are getting now. To elaborate this would call for the background of the sociologist, rather than the economist. But, as a concrete point, the system of handling money and keeping accounts in some branches of business and government has in the past depended on a rigid type of honesty in junior employees — an instance is the practice of sending large sums of money to and from banks by messenger. If this level of honesty is no longer available it would seem reasonable to change accounting and other practices to allow for the fact.

The second type of complaint is of a shortage of specific skills. The two most commonly mentioned occupations were grade A mechanics and trained hotel workers. In part this is a consequence of the current emigration, which tends to take the worker with initiative and with good qualifications, and this tendency is discussed more fully in a later section. The shortage of good skilled workers, however, antedates the emigration and is a reflection of the unsatisfactory situation in the skilled trades and in apprenticeship which has already been referred to. The numbers needed to supply the deficiency are currently small, and the trades concerned are those for which there is no lack of entrants and with which the Technical Institute is well equipped to deal. There is therefore no reason to believe that this problem cannot be quickly solved.

The fact that complaints from employers are few and general in nature should not encourage complacency about the quality of labour. In many



areas of the economy, and particularly those where employer and worker are sheltered in some way from acute competition, employers tolerate surprisingly low work standards. A conspicuous example is the poor salesmanship of the clerks in some city stores. An increase of competition in the sheltered areas would probably bring a demand from employers for much higher standards to which the present labour force would have some difficulty in adjusting.

#### EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

The terms of reference of the 1955 survey included no reference to the problems raised by emigration, which had not reached its present level when the survey was planned. In view of the importance of the movement it seems necessary to summarize the information on it afforded by the survey.

No information on emigration was collected at the February and April surveys. It seems probable that little emigration took place between these months, because of crop-time prosperity. The September and November surveys indicated that between April and November 4,600 people left the island, and about half this was emigration to the United Kingdom. This does not afford a direct measure of net emigration, since no information was tabulated on how many entered the island during the period. But it seems safe to put the net emigration to the United Kingdom at more than 2,500 persons during 1955.

In view of the already difficult employment situation emigration is clearly of great importance as an offset to the increase of population, and it may be asked whether this level of emigration is sufficient to prevent further deterioration of the situation. It is of course less than the annual natural increase, which is about 5,000 per annum. The relevant figure, however, would seem to be the annual increment to the adult labour force, which can be estimated at 2,800-2,900 per annum, since most emigrants would have been in the Barbadian labour force had they remained. The net effect on the labour market of natural increase and emigration together has therefore probably been to keep the situation stable in the last year.

There are however certain reservations to this conclusion. Emigration is not exactly equivalent to a reduction in the rate of natural increase. The emigrants are concentrated in certain age groups (mainly 20 - 25) and it is only at these and later ages that increases in the population are offset; the population at lower ages continues to grow. Both this, and the fact that at present married emigrants usually leave their wives and other dependents behind, means that the proportion of workers to dependents in the Barbadian population must fall. If the emigrants nevertheless maintain their dependents, there is no reason to fear serious repercussions from this, especially as the removal from the island of young people of reproductive age will tend to lower the effective fertility of the population. If, on the other hand, the emigrant fails to maintain his dependents, a situation is created which

presents special problems, both for general social policy and for the labour market in particular.

The probable effect on the labour market would be to bring forward as unemployed and seeking work those women and other dependents who would if maintained by the emigrant responsible, not enter the labour force at all. This effect is similar to that mentioned above in connection with seasonal unemployment. It would be possible, therefore, for emigration on the present scale to halt the increase in male unemployment but to permit the number of women unemployed to increase. The record of previous emigration from Barbados in the early years of the century suggests that most migrants did remit money regularly for the support of their relatives. Whether this experience will be repeated only time can show.

In October 1955 a special survey was made of four groups of emigrants — three going to the United Kingdom, and one of farm workers going to the States (1). It may be useful to summarize the main points here. The survey showed that the emigrants in this batch were generally young, over half being below the age of 30 and less than 2 per cent over 50. Many more men than women were included. There were 112 women (13 of whom were going to join their husbands) against 272 men. The occupations of the emigrants showed a strong bias toward the skilled trades, which accounted for 70 per cent of men and 40 per cent of women. The earnings of those who had been in work before leaving were not significantly different from those of the general population in the same occupations, and there is no definite indication that the emigrants had been drawn in disproportionate numbers from the unemployed.

Out of 272 men among these emigrants, 42 left behind children in Barbados, 17 left a wife or common-law wife and 113 left both wife and child (or children). Out of 112 women, of whom 22 were single, 45 left children in Barbados. More than half the emigrants therefore left behind dependents.

Of the men only 33 left with a job awaiting them on arrival in England. Among the women 13 had jobs arranged, besides 21 student nurses and 13 going to join or accompany their husbands. An overwhelming majority of both men and women were going to join either relatives or friends in the United Kingdom, and there were only 11, all men, who were going completely "blind".

Half the emigrants were paying for their passage from their own savings, and another quarter had been given the passage by parents or older relatives. Private borrowing accounted for the funds of 24 per cent of men but only 7 per cent of women. Other sources of funds were relatively unimportant in this batch, including borrowing from government, which accounted for only 3 per cent of men and 10 per cent of women.

If those results are typical of the current movement to the United Kingdom, and there is no reason to think them otherwise, they confirm that the emigration is a spontaneous movement, not due to government policy, and

is taking out of Barbados mainly young people from the middle of the income and occupational ladder. It appears to correspond closely in these points with the current Jamaican emigration.

The fact that so large a proportion of emigrants are skilled workers need cause no difficulty since the supply of such workers in Barbados is ample and as has been pointed out above unemployment in this group is heavy. A real problem is presented by the fact that the emigrants include highly skilled workers who are in short supply, and in late 1955 employers were complaining of shortages of grade A mechanics and experienced hotel workers. Some shortages of this kind had begun to show up before emigration began, as noted above, because of the weakness of the apprenticeship system, and the problem is not wholly or even primarily one of emigration. It can be met by an expansion and improvement of training facilities, taking into account the fact that a proportion of all fully trained tradesmen are likely to go overseas so long as migration possibilities continue open.

This leads to another general point which cannot be burked. In the past the wage structure of Barbados has remained isolated from that of other areas. Emigration means that for the services of workers whose skills are in short supply, and perhaps even in the long run for general workers, the local employer must be prepared to offer a wage which is competitive with that offered overseas. This does not mean the local wage must equal the British wage; a considerable difference must persist, representing the financial and emotional cost of moving from Barbados to Britain. But there is reason to expect an upward pressure on wages in those grades which cannot easily be supplied from the reserve of unemployed.

#### ECONOMIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

I was empowered by the terms of reference of the 1955 survey to include in my report "such recommendations as may appear to be required". It has been a matter of some difficulty to determine what field these recommendations could properly cover. The problems of employment in Barbados are only partly problems of the organization of the labour market, the greatest of them, the high level of unemployment and underemployment, reflecting the low level of activity of the economy as a whole. To recommend remedies for this basic weakness would involve an examination of the whole economy of the island, an undertaking for which I have at no stage pretended to be fitted. To ignore the basic problems would be to impair the usefulness of any recommendations I might make.

I have therefore followed an intermediate course. I first state my view of the range of possibilities for future developments in various fields, and select one of these possibilities as a working assumption. The specific recommendations on various points of labour policy at the end of this section are based on these assumptions.

### *Population And Emigration*

The most unfavourable situation of which it would seem necessary to take account at the moment is that which existed in 1954 and which is summarized in a report by Lord Simon of Wythenshawe; namely a natural increase rate of 2 per cent per year with insignificant emigration. There seems little reason to expect the natural increase rate to rise above this level on any assumption. This is much more unfavourable than the present situation, but might recur if emigration to the United Kingdom were cut off, for example by a severe depression.

It is entirely possible that the future rate of natural increase will be less than this. Three possibilities present themselves, none of them unfortunately definite enough to permit a precise prediction. Fertility may fall through a shift in attitudes toward child-bearing, as it has in the industrial countries of Europe and North America, but it does not seem wise to give much weight to this possibility. Secondly, such a shift might be deliberately fostered by the continuance of extension of the present work of the Family Planning Association. The results of the Association's work to date, and the little information that can be gleaned on the incidence of abortion in Bridgetown, suggest that some reduction from this cause must be taken into account, in spite of the stereotype of the philoprogenitive Barbadian. Thirdly, if emigration continues it will probably reduce the effective fertility of the remaining population. All these, however, are effects requiring some years to manifest themselves, and the most reasonable assumption for the short run appears to be that the natural increase rate will remain stable.

The present rate of emigration appears about equal to the natural increase rate at age 25. This rate will probably prove sensitive to economic conditions in the countries of origin and destination. A marked falling away from full employment in the United Kingdom, or a marked improvement in conditions in Barbados, would probably reduce it considerably. Failing such developments in the United Kingdom, the most probable course would appear to be some increase in the rate of emigration through a "snowballing" effect until employment conditions in Barbados are substantially relieved, and then a falling off to something below the present rate. But here again prediction is extremely difficult. It is not inconceivable that new openings for emigration may occur, either in countries outside the West Indies or, if freedom of movement within the Federation is attained, in Trinidad or Jamaica. The safest assumption over the next five years would seem to be that the rate and direction of emigration continue as at present.

It is necessary to detail the possibilities in this field because of its crucial importance. If the most pessimistic assumptions given here prove to be justified, the specific recommendations on labour policy given elsewhere would become altogether secondary to the main problem of relieving the distress caused by population pressure. If, however, the most optimistic assumptions turn out to be correct — in brief, lower fertility and higher emigration — then the recommendations will lose none of their relevancy.

*Agriculture*

According to the 1953 national income estimates, the sugar industry accounts for about 80 per cent of the value of agricultural production. The expansion of this industry in the last forty years has been phenomenal. Between 1890 and 1914 output was running at the rate of about 40,000 tons a year. Since then it has expanded fairly steadily (allowing for variations in price and rainfall) to its record level of 160-170,000 tons a year. It seems to be generally accepted that the forces which produced this expansion have almost worked out their effect and that on these grounds alone production could be expected to level off at an average level of 170-180,000 tons a year.

This level should probably be accepted as the limit of output in the next decade on the ground, not of productive possibility, but of the difficulty of marketing more than this without a sharp fall in average prices. Other West Indian territories are now cutting back production for this reason. Apart from the pressure exerted by the lower world price, Barbados is likely to suffer somewhat from the deterioration of the fancy molasses market, and it does not appear that the development of by-products such as cane wax has reached the point of commercial profitability or will reach it in time to offset this. On market grounds, therefore, the prospect is of stabilization of production with prices at their present level or declining slightly.

But stability in output does not mean that the industry will remain stable in other ways. In the first place, it is by no means certain that technical change has come to a stop. The present sugar factories are undoubtedly efficient, but the centralization of production which has taken place over the last fifty years has still left the average factory small compared with what is regarded elsewhere as the optimum size. Further centralization is therefore quite possible, either through the elimination of the small molasses factories or through concentration of production within the group of factories controlled by the Barbados Shipping and Trading Co., which account for 40 per cent of output.

On the field side of the industry the improvements over the last forty years have done little to diminish the dependence of the crop on rainfall. The possibility of irrigation, now being explored, may have far-reaching effects. The immediate prospect is of the use of irrigation water in drought years; and if the effect of drought can be fully offset by this means the average increase in production over good and bad years would be of the order of 10,000 tons. But if it should prove that sufficient water is available to make irrigation a routine activity a further possibility presents itself. The rotation now in use in Barbados is very old-established; reaping in February-May, planting in November, with a fifteen to eighteen month growing period for plants, and two, three or four ratoons from such planting. Other rotations are of course possible — for example, planting immediately after reaping, with a twelve to fifteen month growing period (if the cane is to be reaped next crop) or a two-year growing period (if the cane is to be reaped next



erop but one). Irrigation gives much greater freedom in determining the rotation used and it seems to me, as a layman, that we cannot rule out the possibility that irrigation may eventually raise yields in Barbados considerably through some such change in organization.

Further, even if output and the main lines of organization of the industry remain stable there is the possibility of changes in the labour force. It has already been mentioned that considerable labour economies have taken place since 1940. But much greater changes are technically possible; for example, mechanical harvesting and chemical weeding. The most drastic of these may be ruled out, at least for some time ahead, since they would involve considerable reorganization. But there remain many smaller economies which would appear desirable if sugar prices fell or wages rose considerably.

Bearing all these points in mind, I assume that over the next few years sugar output will remain stable, sugar prices will fall somewhat, wages will tend to rise and there will be some economies in labour in the industry affecting particularly women. I also assume that the output will be produced from a smaller acreage, and that some land — not however very much — will become available for other agricultural uses.

As regards other agricultural production, I assume in brief, that the present programmes of the Department of Agriculture will be carried through, with improvements in the marketing system, some expansion in farm incomes and output and an increase in the area under local food crops, particularly where irrigation is available. On these grounds, and also because it seems reasonable to expect that continued emigration will provide capital for land purchases, I assume an increase in the area in small farms.

#### *Manufacturing and Service Industries*

I assume that domestic service and small scale dressmaking will continue to decline in importance, but that this will be more than offset by increases in light factory industry and consumer services. It is not inconceivable that substantial new industries might be established in Barbados (e.g. high class needlework) given intensive work on development and a considerable investment in the first stages, but I cannot feel that the present climate of opinion is favourable to so difficult and risky an undertaking and I therefore ignore it in my assumption.

#### *Construction*

I assume that the lines which account for most construction employment — houses, industrial and public buildings, highways — will continue at their present level of activity and employment, except for works associated with the deep water harbour. The building of the harbour can be expected to have a considerable, though temporary effect on the employment situation. Its exact importance is difficult to assess until more is known of the final arrangements. The key factor is the rate of expenditure on local labour. According to Sir Douglas Ritchie, the increase in local employment would be

about 3,000 at the highest point, and it can be estimated that possibly another 3,000 jobs would be created indirectly — sufficient to relieve the unemployment problem substantially. If the long-term employment situation has improved in the meantime, this will afford a valuable breathing space. If, on the other hand, no long-term improvement has taken place the cessation of work on this project will pose special problems.

### *Commerce and Tourism*

Employment in trade would appear at the moment to be fairly stable, any increase from rising personal incomes over the last few years being offset by economies in the use of labour. Heavy labour expenditures on the harbour scheme will be likely to bring a sharp temporary expansion in retail trade which may facilitate changes in the organization of the industry. Such changes are now taking place elsewhere in the West Indies, particularly the shift toward large stores of the Woolworth and "supermarket" type, characterized by cash sales, impersonal selling methods and a large range of goods fully displayed. I consider there is scope for much expansion in this field, particularly among working-class consumers, and therefore assume that after any "boom" occasioned by the deep water harbour scheme trade is likely to settle down at a higher level than before.

It is arguable that the establishment of a deep water harbour will lead to an expansion of the transit trade, which was formerly of considerable importance. In view of the strong competitive position of Trinidad, with roughly equal facilities and a larger internal market, I have preferred not to count on this. I assume, however, some expansion of the tourist trade on this account, though it would appear that the type of tourist likely to be affected is the short-stay cruise passenger. I also assume that the naturally strong competitive position of the tourist industry will lead to contained expansion for some years.

### *Labour Attitudes and Labour Organization*

I have quoted earlier two social factors which enter into the present employment situation in a quite specific way. The first is the preference shown to white applicants for white-collar jobs in some fields. I assume that this will continue to diminish in importance, if only because of economic pressure.

The second is the emphasis on white-collar and skilled jobs among young people seeking work. These jobs are not merely preferred in a general sense, but the number of young people taking steps to enter these avenues is greater than the number who can eventually find jobs. I assume that so far as skilled occupations are concerned the situation will be relieved by emigration, which at the moment is tending to take away precisely this class of worker, but that the number of secondary school graduates will tend to increase and that the number of these trying to find work within the island will continue to constitute a problem.

It has been pointed out above that there seems to be a disproportion be-

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tween the earnings and wage rates in the sugar industry and among port-workers, on the one hand, and those of skilled tradesmen. This may well be a reflection of the concentration of collective bargaining on the sugar industry and the port. Both these are crucial areas of the economy, and in each a single union confronts a single employers' organization. The union is of course the same in both, and the overlap between the two employers' groups concerned is such that there is considerable community of interest. I assume in my recommendations that the low earnings of skilled tradesmen and other groups outside the two areas of unionization constitute a problem which needs attention and that it is not likely to solve itself through union action, though this should be encouraged.

#### *Summary of Assumptions*

I therefore assume, in summary, that the general employment situation will remain fairly stable, in default of government action, except for the effects of the deep water harbour scheme and of certain trends which are already in operation and can be expected to continue. These are conservative assumptions and it is possible that the situation will in fact develop much more favourably than this, particularly if oil should be found in exploitable quantities.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding sections have called attention to four main problems within the field of this report; the problem of general unemployment, the problem of entry into industry for young people, the problem of technical training and standards of work, and the problem of seasonal unemployment. These are closely related.

It is, of course, the policy of government to reduce the level of general unemployment by any feasible means. The most immediately effective means at present would appear to be through emigration, and I therefore make certain recommendations designed to bring to the island the maximum benefit from this source.

In general terms, I recommend that the following be objects of government policy:

- (a) that a high proportion of, and if possible all, emigrants to the United Kingdom be interviewed by qualified personnel, preferably trained for this work, before leaving the island, and be provided with as full printed information as possible on the district and occupation they intend to journey to, and the means of getting there and establishing themselves;
- (b) that every facility be given Barbadians overseas to remit home savings and money for the support of their families;
- (c) that contact be kept with as many as possible of the emigrants, including a record of the work into which they go on arrival and so far as possible of later work for a period of a year;

- (d) that the industrial qualifications of emigrants should be as high as is consistent with the internal labour needs of the island and that evidence of these qualifications should be available to overseas employers.

\* \* \*

The second major problem is that of the entry of young people into industry. There are four points at which government now takes a hand in this process — through the teaching of certain skills in the secondary modern schools, through the Technical Institute (and formerly the bursary system), through the routine work of the Employment Bureau and through the work of the Youth Employment Officer. The Evening Institute also plays an important role.

The weakness of all these institutions save the last is that they implicitly make pretensions they are not able at the moment to fulfil. Part of the reason perhaps is that they have been taken over from a different industrial context, with a higher level of employment and a better organized labour market. The secondary modern schools, for example, while nominally aimed at securing an education for all children up to the age of 16 with equal status for non-academic subjects, in fact do not, or do not yet, provide more than a slightly liberalized elementary education, carried beyond the age of 14 only in exceptional cases.

In the case of the Employment Bureau, the number of placements achieved is small in relation to the volume of unemployment (a fact which weakens the incentive of workers and employers to use it, and so leads to cumulative weakness) and also small, it would appear, in relation to the staff involved and the expenditure incurred. This is dealt with further below.

The Youth Employment Officer is nominally charged with the whole field of vocation guidance and placement of young people. In fact, given the size of the problem and the level of unemployment, it is not feasible to cover in detail very much beyond the field of secondary school leavers.

\* \* \*

There is a strong case for a far-reaching re-evaluation of the situation. The problems of school leavers are not restricted to secondary school children, nor are they likely to grow less severe in the immediate future, since, as mentioned earlier, the assumption that the general increase of the adult population will be arrested by emigration does not mean that the number of young people entering the labour force will cease to increase at least for some years.

I do not make specific recommendations for a wider reorganization. The field involved overlaps educational matters on one side, and the responsibilities of the Labour Department on the other. It has been the experience in Great Britain that this borderline presents considerable administrative difficulties which are best overcome by *ad hoc* arrangement and that the success of such arrangements is a matter of co-operation on the spot as much as of the drawing of organizational charts.

The general problem in the youth employment field can be summarized

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from the present point of view by saying that Government has accepted responsibility for the socially desirable functioning of a wide area of the labour market, and that the present conditions of unusual stress involve a choice between abdicating part of the responsibility or, if resources are available, putting much more money and staff into fulfilling it.

The same general observation applies for the Employment Bureau. The Bureau started under difficulties, since it combined the functions of distributing opportunities for both emigration and local employment. Its lists were therefore overloaded with would-be emigrants who were not suitable material to send for local placement at the current rates of wages. But even when freed from this handicap by the setting up of a separate section to deal with the U.S. farm workers scheme it has never been able to attract to itself a sufficient proportion of local applications from workers or employers either to affect the organization of the labour market appreciably or to afford useful statistics of employment or unemployment.

I recommend therefore that one of two courses be followed. Either the functions of the Bureau should be restricted to the placement of special groups for whom the market is limited and comparatively well balanced as between supply and demand (e.g. workers with an acknowledged qualification, educational or technical); or an effort should be made to increase its turn-over considerably.

\* \* \*

It is convenient at this point to deal with the question of securing adequate future information on the employment situation. It was suggested by Prof. Richardson in his report on social security in Barbados that the 1955 employment survey "should provide a plan by which the figures can be kept up-to-date from year to year in the future." Since that date a government statistical service has been inaugurated and it would be unreasonable to prescribe the exact lines along which this service should work in fulfilling what will be one of its main responsibilities.

\* \* \*

It appears to be true that none of the existing sources of labour statistics is suitable to provide data on general employment and unemployment. The data now collected from the sugar industry, from larger establishments and from government departments are most useful as an indication of employment within these limits, but the sector which remains outside the sphere of these returns is both large and unpredictable. They are therefore not reliable as measures of total employment, though useful as pointers. Further, because the size of the labour force varies through the year and probably (especially in view of the present emigration) from year to year, it is impossible to assess the number unemployed from a knowledge of the number employed.

I see no prospect of the Employment Bureau becoming so universally used that it will provide direct estimates of the number unemployed. If the provident fund scheme suggested by Prof. Richardson is adopted and extended

to establishments with five or more wage-earners, it might be administered in such a manner as to give, as a by-product, data on employment and unemployment over a wide area of the labour force, but these figures would also be open to the objection urged against the present establishment returns (e.g. from the sugar industry) that avenues such as self-employment and domestic service would be unaccounted for. This would be particularly troublesome in the case of seasonal fluctuations in employment, since between crop and hard times there is a tendency for workers to pass from the sugar industry (which would presumably be within the ambit of the provident fund) to other types of work such as own-account farming, construction and fishing (which often would not).

If, therefore, it is desired to secure measurements of general unemployment which will show the seasonal variation and the trend from year to year, there seems no alternative to regularly repeated sample surveys. These could be simpler and cheaper than the 1955 survey. Using a shorter questionnaire, requiring less qualified enumerators, and conducting one survey in crop and one in hard times, it should be possible to obtain satisfactory estimates for an expenditure of \$1,000 - \$2,000 a year.

There is one further administrative matter to be mentioned before I turn to some more general recommendations. The problem of technological unemployment — the displacement of specialized workers from their jobs by a change in the technique of production — is peculiarly difficult in Barbados where occupational distinctions are so rigid as to impede the transfer out of dying occupations to an even greater degree than elsewhere, and since the economy is not expanding sufficiently rapidly to open up new job opportunities for the displaced. The displaced worker may therefore suffer severe privation. This problem has already arisen in the case of the coopers whose trade was made obsolete by the bulk shipment of molasses, and is likely to arise in the future in occupations such as lightermen, which depend on the present organization of the harbour and will therefore be displaced by the deep water harbour scheme. (The siting of warehouses at the new harbour may also favour the use of motor transport and lead to the displacement of handcart men).

The problem was met in the case of the displaced coopers by imposing a cess on fancy molasses exports and paying displacement allowances from the resulting fund according to a system of points allotted to the displaced on the basis of their age, length of service and average earnings before displacement. It seems generally agreed by those who have had experience of the operation of the scheme that it has not worked well. One of its main weaknesses seems to have been the failure to prescribe definite dates of payment or a limit to the duration of the scheme. The unfortunate impression has consequently grown up that additional allowances can be extracted indefinitely by political or other pressure. Moreover since the displaced can be cut out of the scheme only when they find regular work or refuse work

offered through the employment bureau, there is a strong incentive for them to accept casual work of which no official record exists and avoid any summons from the bureau. The whole scheme appears to have had unfavourable side effects on the younger men while undoubtedly assisting the older for whom adaptation to a new job would be particularly difficult. It would seem advisable therefore to adopt a different basis for any future scheme of this kind.

\* \* \*

I now revert to the two major points on which I wish to make some observations but do not wish to give my recommendations precise administrative form. The first of these is the problem of technical training and standards of work. Here the basic difficulties, as mentioned above, are excessive numbers in and entering the skilled occupations, low standards of apprenticeship and work, and low earnings in relation to other, nominally inferior occupations.

\* \* \*

In general terms a systematic approach to the problems of technical training as a whole would seem to call for answers to the following questions:

- (a) what skills will be in demand in the immediate future, and in what order of priority?
- (b) how many recruits will be needed to these skills to meet the foreseeable demands of local employers, of overseas employers and of the economy generally?
- (c) how long a training is appropriate for each skill?
- (d) what are the appropriate agencies for the various types of training required (including possibly refresher courses for persons already trained who need to graduate to a higher standard) bearing in mind the resources available?
- (e) how can potential trainees be most economically guided into the appropriate job (bearing in mind what has been said above on the inadequacy of the present Youth Employment service as a general scheme of vocational guidance)?

I feel therefore that there is a strong case for a reconsideration of the whole field of technical training and qualifications by a body with a wider purview than the recent Apprenticeship Committee, with particular attention to the extension of some improved system of apprenticeship to the construction and similar trades, to raising standards and providing objective evidence of the standard reached for those tradesmen who are already practising, and to providing suitable training for future emigrants; including possibly training for the type of semi-skilled work which many emigrants will take up.

\* \* \*

So far as the problems of unemployment and low earnings are the results of the entry of large numbers of poorly qualified persons into the skilled trades, they would be remedied by the raising of standards and the enforcement of qualifications. So far as they reflect general unemployment, they are



less tractable. Evidence has already been given to show that it is likely that the continuance of the present trend in emigration will affect particularly this group, and will not only remove some of the present unemployed but may in the long run lead them to return with better qualifications and capital.

The problem of seasonal unemployment is clearly a serious one in Barbados. It may be tackled in two ways — by the attempt to spread the existing work more evenly or find compensatory employment in the off-season, or by providing means to distribute the income of the peak period over the rest of the year. Attempts to establish light industries with a seasonal labour demand dovetailing with that of agriculture have not generally been successful in other countries, and it does not seem that they can be relied on in Barbados. The claim is often made that cottage industries can function in this way; it is hard to refute it but equally hard to point to a case where it has been conspicuously successful.

There is however a possibility which may be mentioned since it involves a change which may eventually take place on purely economic grounds. It has been noted above that the seasonal variation in female employment in the sugar industry is much less than that in male employment. The bulk of hard times employment for women is provided by the farming system and similar light work. The result is that the dominant economic role in many rural families shifts from the man to the woman between crop and hard times, with harmful effects on the stability of the family. A great part of the work done by women might well be done by men, reducing the seasonal variation in male employment. It is surely desirable that any fluctuation should be concentrated on the female rather than the male side of the labour force, on general social grounds, and it is by no means certain that a reduction in female employment, if accompanied by an increase in male incomes, would lead to an increase in the number of women seeking work. The argument that such a change would deprive of livelihood older women without means of support is valid but would cease to be so if a more generous social security scheme on the lines of Prof. Richardson's report were adopted. It must be admitted, however, that the male and female roles in the sugar industry are firmly established and any modification would run counter to the prepossessions of both employers and workers; and this may be a decisive argument against the charge.

The other approach to the problems of seasonal unemployment has been dealt with by Prof. Richardson in his report on social security and I have nothing to add to what he has there stated.

It has been noted above that one of the causes of the idiosyncrasies of the Barbadian wage structure may be the concentration of bargaining strength in certain crucial fields. It may be possible for the Labour Department to encourage the extension of collective bargaining to occupations not at present covered. Besides its general desirability, this would probably have salutary effects in rationalizing the wage structure of the island.

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As a final general observation, I would draw attention to the general trend toward replacing large numbers of workers operating with little capital at low intensity by smaller numbers operating with capital at higher intensities, and toward the concentration of labour incomes into fewer hands, with the elimination of marginal groups. It has not been generally realized that this economic change may have desirable social consequences where the marginal worker eliminated is the working mother and where the income level of the economy and its general social arrangements are such that outside work is not compatible with a fulfilment of the socially acceptable role of mother. The economic basis is thus brought into closer correspondence with the social ideal of the family, and the "ideal" roles of man and woman as breadwinner and housewife can be more easily maintained. (At much higher general income levels it is possible for the roles to be confused without great harm — hence the increasing proportion of women working in Britain and the United States.) Any particular displacement of women workers should therefore be considered as part of this general trend, though it may have unfavourable immediate effects. In summary, the social effects of employment policy should be given consideration, in this as in other cases.

## APPENDIX I

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED, 15 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BARBADOS, 1946-55

('000)

	Crop			Hard Times		
	Employed	Unem- ployed*	Others**	Employed	Unem- ployed*	Others**
<i>Men</i>						
1946 (April — Census)	43.4	4.6	6.1			
1951-2 (Budget survey)	43.3	8.6	6.7	40.8	11.4	6.3
1955 (Employment survey):						
Feb. and April, 1955	42.8	9.2	8.0	37.7	1.7	8.1
Sept. and Nov., 1955						
<i>Women</i>						
1946	37.0	5.7	32.0			
1951-52	36.3	12.0	31.9	32.9	12.7	34.6
1955	31.1	18.5	33.4	28.8	19.7	33.0

\*Includes all unemployed, whether or not available for work.

\*\*Includes school children, apprentices, sick and disabled, housewives, retired persons.

TABLE IIIA. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE POPULATION, AGED 15 AND OVER, CROP, 1955. ('000)

	Rural Areas				Urban Areas				All Areas			
	Men	Women	Both Sexes		Men	Women	Both Sexes		Men	Women	Both Sexes	
Fully employed	24.6	13.8	38.4		11.8	8.7	20.5		36.5	22.4	58.9	
Partly employed	3.8	6.5	10.3		2.5	2.2	4.7		6.3	8.7	15.0	
Total employed	28.4	20.2	48.7		14.3	10.8	25.2		42.8	31.1	73.9	
Unemployed: Seeking work	1.9	1.7	3.6		3.6	4.4	8.0		5.5	6.1	11.6	
Unemployed: Willing to work	1.3	2.8	4.1		0.8	1.8	2.5		2.1	4.5	6.6	
Total available for work	3.2	4.5	7.7	(13%)	4.4	6.2	10.6	(29%)	7.6	10.7	18.3	(20%)
Unemployed, not available for work	1.2	4.8	6.1		0.4	3.0	3.4		1.6	7.8	9.5	
At school	0.7	0.8	1.5		0.7	0.8	1.5		1.4	1.6	3.0	
Apprentices	1.1	0.9	2.1		0.8	0.4	1.3		2.0	1.4	3.4	
Sick and disabled	1.3	2.6	4.0		0.5	1.4	1.9		1.8	4.1	5.9	
Housewives	—	11.1	11.1		—	10.3	10.3		—	21.3	21.3	
Retired	1.6	2.8	4.4		1.3	2.1	3.4		2.8	4.9	7.8	
Total	37.5	47.9	85.5		22.4	35.1	57.5		60.0	83.0	143.0	

TABLE IIIB. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER, "HARD TIMES", 1955

	Rural Areas				Urban Areas				All Areas			
	Men	Women	Both Sexes		Men	Women	Both Sexes		Men	Women	Both Sexes	
Fully employed	13.8	6.2	20.1		11.5	8.5	20.0		25.3	14.7	40.1	
Partly employed	9.9	12.0	21.9		2.5	2.1	4.6		12.4	14.1	26.5	
Total employed	23.7	18.3	42.0		14.0	10.5	24.6		37.7	28.8	66.6	
Unemployed: Seeking work	1.2	0.5	1.7		2.4	3.1	5.5		3.6	3.6	7.2	
Unemployed: Willing to work	3.9	5.9	9.7		1.4	2.3	3.8		5.3	8.2	13.5	
Total available for work	5.0	6.4	11.4	(21%)	3.9	5.4	9.3	(37%)	8.9	11.8	20.7	(23%)
Unemployed, not available for work	1.9	5.0	6.8		0.9	2.9	3.8		2.8	7.9	10.7	
At school	0.9	1.0	1.9		0.8	1.1	1.9		1.7	2.2	3.9	
Apprentices	1.2	0.8	2.0		0.5	0.5	1.0		1.7	1.3	3.0	
Sick and disabled	1.6	2.2	3.9		0.4	2.0	2.4		2.1	4.2	6.3	
Housewives	—	10.4	10.4		—	9.9	9.9		—	20.4	20.4	
Retired	1.5	3.0	4.4		1.2	2.1	3.3		2.6	5.0	7.7	
Total	35.8	47.1	82.9		21.8	34.4	56.2		57.5	81.5	139.1	

## EMPLOYMENT IN BARBADOS

143

TABLE IIIA. ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, AGES 20 AND OVER, APRIL, 1955. ('000)

	Labour Force	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed <sup>a</sup>	Average hours worked per wk.	Average earnings per wk.	No. earnings less than \$10
<i>Male</i>						
<i>Agriculture</i>						
Managerial	1.0	1.1	—	64.1	49.6	—
Skilled and factory	3.6	3.5	—	58.3	24.5	0.2
Cutters and loaders	7.6	7.6	—	49.7	17.5	0.4
Others	4.3	4.1	0.2	49.8	11.2	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>16.5</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>52.2</b>	<b>19.1</b>	<b>2.0</b>
<i>Other industries</i>						
Managerial, etc. <sup>b</sup>	5.8	5.6	0.2	45.5	34.3	0.2
Small traders	2.6	2.2	0.4	51.3	11.6	0.7
Skilled traders	11.1	8.0	3.1	42.0	14.6	2.1
Porters, seamen, stevedores	2.1	1.7	0.4	35.1	14.0	0.6
Others	6.6	4.8	1.9	46.6	11.4	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>28.2</b>	<b>22.2</b>	<b>6.0</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>18.2</b>	<b>4.9</b>
<i>Female</i>						
<i>Agriculture</i>						
Factory and loaders	4.8	4.8	—	52.5	14.4	0.1
Farmers and weeders	1.7	1.7	—	29.1	5.6	1.6
Others	5.0	4.2	0.9	49.8	7.3	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>44.1</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>4.6</b>
<i>Other Industries</i>						
Professional, etc. <sup>c</sup>	4.7	3.8	0.9	43.2	17.6	0.8
Small traders	4.2	3.3	0.9	33.4	6.0	2.0
Seamstresses and laundresses	4.6	2.8	1.8	31.1	5.4	2.2
Domestic <sup>d</sup>	8.2	4.7	3.5	62.5	5.2	4.2
Others	1.4	0.8	0.6	40.2	6.3	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>23.2</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>9.9</b>
Occupation undefined	1.4		1.4			

<sup>a</sup> Includes all unemployed whether or not available for work.<sup>b</sup> Managerial, professional, clerical occupations, sales persons and public service.<sup>c</sup> Professional and clerical occupations and sales persons.<sup>d</sup> Cash earnings only.

35.8 47.1 82.9 21.8 34.4 56.2 57.5 81.5 139.1

TABLE IIIB. ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, AGES 20 AND OVER, SEPTEMBER, 1955.

	Labour Force	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed <sup>a</sup>	Average hours worked per week	Average earnings per week	No. earnings less than \$10
<b>Male</b>						
Agriculture						
Managerial	0.9	0.9	—	54.9	49.2	—
Skilled and factory	1.4	0.6	0.7	36.4	14.1	0.1
Others	11.9	10.1	1.7	33.1	8.5	7.9
Total	14.1	11.6	2.5	34.6	10.4	8.0
Other Industries						
Managerial, etc. <sup>b</sup>	6.4	6.0	0.4	43.8	27.8	0.3
Small traders	2.2	1.9	0.3	50.7	10.0	0.7
Skilled trades	12.0	8.4	3.6	42.8	13.0	2.1
Porters, seamen, stevedores	1.8	1.1	0.8	39.8	22.9	0.8
Others	9.2	7.7	1.5	41.2	9.9	3.5
Total	31.6	25.1	6.5	43.1	15.5	6.8
Total	31.6	25.1	6.5	43.1	15.5	6.8
Undefined	0.4		0.4			
<b>Female</b>						
Agriculture						
All Occupations	12.7	10.9	17.8	29.9	5.0	10.8
Other Industries						
Professional, etc. <sup>c</sup>	5.5	4.0	1.6	41.8	17.5	1.2
Small traders	5.0	3.7	1.3	37.2	7.1	2.9
Seamstresses and laundresses <sup>d</sup>	6.3	3.7	2.6	27.3	4.1	3.5
Domestics	10.6	5.1	5.4	62.9	5.4	4.7
Others	1.4	1.0	0.4	34.4	7.0	0.9
Total	28.8	17.6	11.2	44.9	8.0	13.2
Occupation undefined	1.4		1.4			

<sup>a</sup> Includes all unemployed whether or not available for work.<sup>b</sup> Managerial, professional, clerical occupations, sales persons and public service.<sup>c</sup> Professional and clerical occupations and sales persons.<sup>d</sup> Cash earnings only.

## APPENDIX II

## NOTE ON STATISTICAL METHODS

The estimates of employment and unemployment used in this report for the period November 1954 - November 1955 are based on sample surveys carried out in February, April, September, and November, 1955.

The information was collected by enumerators and entered directly on printed questionnaires. In the February survey these questionnaires took the form of foolscap sheets bound in books, and at later surveys printed cards.

A total of 24 enumerators were selected for the first survey, all being government servants (one sanitary inspector, the rest school teachers). They were chosen on the basis of familiarity with the area to be covered, experience of similar work in the 1946 census or the 1951 household budget

survey, and recommendation from the Department of Education. Not all of these took part in the later surveys, the number used varying between 15 and 23.

Before the first survey the enumerators were instructed individually or in small groups, and they were visited frequently during the survey. Before subsequent surveys group meetings were held of all enumerators, and difficulties which had arisen or seemed likely to arise were discussed. At each survey enumerators were given a mimeographed set of instructions which was discussed in detail in the group meetings. The task of keeping contact with enumerators was of course made easier by the compactness of the area to be covered, the furthest sample areas being less than an hour's drive from Bridgetown.

The February sample comprised all persons in twelve areas selected at random from the list of subdistricts given in the report of the 1946 population census, six from the rural and six from the urban lists. In view of what was known of the high degree of homogeneity of the island no further stratification appeared necessary. It happened that among the areas chosen the Scotland district, the only rural area which might claim to have a distinctive employment pattern, was represented with an appropriate weight, and subsequent examination has confirmed that further stratification would not have brought any gain in efficiency. The sampling fraction obtained by this procedure was roughly 1 in 14 in the town and 1 in 28 in the country, or 1 in 20 overall.

The April, September and November surveys covered a sub-sample selected systematically from the February lists in the proportion of 1 in 3 in the towns and 2 in 3 in the country, giving a sampling fraction of 1 in 42 overall. So far as possible the same households were covered in all three sub-sample surveys.

It was a main object of the project to provide basic employment information as promptly as possible. No facilities for machine tabulation existed in Barbados. The basic data from the questionnaires were therefore tabulated by hand as soon as possible. In the case of the February survey the information was transferred to work sheets; in the other cases the questionnaire cards were hand sorted. The information on which this report is based is taken from these tabulations, with some subsequent checking.

In this report the results of the analysis are presented mainly in the form of estimates of employment, unemployment and other quantities for the total population. These estimates are obtained by applying the distribution found in the sample to an estimated total population based on data from the Registrar's Office. The basic population total used is 230,000, with certain allowances for population growth and migration during the course of the survey. This total was allocated between urban and rural strata in proportions based on the proportions recorded in the 1946 population census and on the relative rates of growth of the populations of the strata in the inter-



censal period. The strata totals were divided into age groups on the basis of the age distribution found in the February sample survey. The distribution of employment categories found in the sample for each sub-class (defined by stratum, sex and age group) was then applied to the corresponding sub-class total for the population estimate.

An alternative and simpler procedure would have been to multiply the sample results within each stratum (urban and rural) by the reciprocal of the sampling fraction, assessing this fraction on the basis of the ratio between the sample district population and total population found in 1946. It was found that this procedure gave an estimate of the total population of 210-215,000, or considerably less than the Registrar's figure. It was impossible to rule out the consideration that the sub-district boundaries might have been misinterpreted either in 1946 or during the survey, and it therefore seemed best to adopt the procedure based on the assumption that the Registrar's figure was correct.

It should be mentioned, however, that the tendency of the Registrar's estimates of total population in the last intercensal period was to be higher than the true figure, owing to unrecorded emigration. The age distribution of the 1955 sample was consistent with the idea that more emigration has gone on in recent years than is shown in the official figures, and I have not been able to satisfy myself that the present system of control of emigration makes unrecorded emigration impossible (e.g. by schooner to Trinidad). The possibility cannot therefore be dismissed altogether that the official estimate of population is in fact too high. If this is so, all the estimates given in this report are uniformly too high by the proportion borne by the unrecorded emigration to the present official estimate.

The sampling procedure used sacrifices something for the sake of speed and simplicity in tabulation, that something being the power to calculate easily the "sampling error" of the final estimates. The only estimates for which random sampling errors have been worked out in detail are those for the percentage of the population employed, the percentage unemployed and the percentage of the labour force unemployed as estimated from the February survey. It was assumed in the planning of the survey that it was desirable to aim at a percentage standard error of 0.5 for the latter quantity. In fact this was not attained, the percentage standard error in the February survey being 0.7, while in the later surveys which covered a smaller sample than in February, it was presumably somewhat higher.

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# The Economy of Montserrat: A National Accounts Study

By

CARLEEN O'LOUGHLIN

I

## BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

### *Environmental Features*

There are certain economic problems which are of particular importance in small islands, and in many ways Montserrat's position illustrates well the characteristics of such a geographical unit. In small islands the market is limited because the small size of the population and the cost and difficulties of external transport make large-scale production virtually impossible. Small islands rely heavily on sea and air transport and at the same time the extent of the business which they have to offer may be too small to attract the more efficient carriers to call. The cost of imported goods is likely to be high owing to freight and off-loading costs, and this means high prices for imports and a dearth of incentive goods offered for sale in the stores. Small islands can rarely support many highly qualified experts and there is likely to be a shortage, both in government and the professions, of trained personnel. In some of the smaller islands, the sea and tourism provide extra sources of income but in Montserrat the coast is inhospitable and offers neither sheltered anchorages nor playgrounds for visitors. The interior of the island is however, of great scenic beauty and can probably attract short-stay tourists.

In cultivation too, the Montserrat farmer must be waging a perpetual battle against environmental conditions. In this island, which is approximately  $32\frac{1}{2}$  square miles in area, only about 7,000 acres are cultivated (4). The island is extremely mountainous, the drainage pattern being dominated by six mountain peaks. Although fertile patches are cultivated in these uplands, the major part of cultivation is carried out in intervening valleys and a very small area of coastal plain. The land is littered with stones and boulders, the soil is very porous and owing to the gradient of much farm land there is a constant battle against erosion. The annual average rainfall is 62 inches and although the island is better served with rain than the other Leewards, the rainfall is badly distributed throughout the year and is subject to speedy drainage. The major problems which the natural environment

imposes on the agricultural economy are thus as follows: (a) the generally rocky nature of the country limits the amount of cultivable land; (b) erosion is serious during heavy rains; (c) the stoniness of the land imposes limits on mechanization and consolidation; (d) variability of the rainfall pattern causes periodic droughts.

There is however little doubt that more land could be brought into cultivation in reasonably workable or accessible areas. The recent extension of the sugar acreage has revealed accessible land with good soil. It is thought however that a crop of high profitability would have to be found to justify a great expansion of the arable acreage. A soil and land use survey is needed in Montserrat, to show the nature of land resources.

### *Population*

The population of Montserrat in 1956 was estimated to be 14,378 (4). The figures are based on annual registration statistics and it is considered that they should be treated with some doubt until the census is taken next year. The exact figures of emigration are not known but the enormous growth in remittances received from relatives overseas by residents of Montserrat (see Table 14) does suggest a rather higher rate of emigration than is indicated by the population figures. Even if the natural growth has offset emigration in the last five years, it is clear that the composition of the population must have changed radically, since emigration causes a loss in males of working age. Not only is the size of the labour force thus affected but since it is often the more skilled and enterprising men who emigrate the average efficiency of the labour force may well have deteriorated.

Labour unrest has been a feature of Montserrat economic life in the last few years. One does not have to look far to find the underlying reason. The basic agricultural industries in Montserrat, particularly cotton, have been characterized for years by inefficient methods of production only made possible by the availability of cheap labour. Even moderate ventures into more scientific methods of agriculture such as are seen in adjoining islands have by-passed Montserrat, and this is due as much to the difficulty of the terrain as to the insularity of the planting group who, to be fair, have had little alternative in view of the unstable financial basis of the industry and the preponderance of unemployment in the past.

Such outdated systems of tenure and methods of production as have existed in the past are however untenable in the present situation. Emigration has worsened the seasonal shortage of labour. The counter-attractions of emigrating and the comparatively higher wage-rates in nearby islands (which are becoming more accessible to Montserrat) have made the workers reluctant to accept the old conditions of employment and the share-cropping system of tenure which prevail in parts of the island. Furthermore, the increased price of imported goods makes the value of the money earned seem negligible. As is shown in Table 14 remittance income accounted for 27 per cent of the cash income in Montserrat in 1956. It is probable that many of

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the more enterprising workers who did not emigrate are those who have control of small farms, and to them it may well be that labour spent on the land, improving the quantity and variety of the family's diet, is more rewarding than work for a low wage which has little value at the store.

These factors indicate that it is not so anomalous as might at first be supposed to find in Montserrat, as well as in other small islands, that although poverty and underemployment exist there is a reluctance to accept employment at low wage-rates. It also partly accounts for the fact that in spite of the depressed conditions of the period under review, household saving actually increased. This is evidenced both by the figures in Account 3 and by the statistics of deposits made in the Government Savings Bank. Evidence has been found in many areas that communities of low cash income and relatively high subsistence income can be better savers than the slightly wealthier community. This is particularly true when the community lives in a backwater as regards consumption habits where lack of contact with the outside world has stultified the development of new demands and where local importers do not find it profitable to endeavour to form new demands by an enterprising imports policy. Many of the recipients of remittances moreover are old people, who may be better savers than the young.

### *The Structure of the Economy*

Can the cotton industry be reorganized to face the new demands and yet make a profit? It is perhaps too early to answer this question although it might be mentioned that one mitigating feature is the special nature of the demand for sea-island cotton and the high regard with which the Montserrat product is held — factors which many people feel have not been sufficiently exploited by the seller. The figures in this study also emphasize the point that in 1956, when there was virtually no income from cotton, the cash income of the island did not suffer a decline. This however was due both to the jump in remittances and to increased government spending. Even in normal years, the income from cotton is a significant but by no means major part of the cash income of the island. It is in the external trade of the colony that the position of cotton is dominant. In some years cotton has accounted for 80 per cent of the value of the exports of the island.

In most years, Montserrat imports merchandise of just over twice the value of her merchandise exports. The "gap" is of course filled mainly by grants-in-aid, and more recently by remittance incomes (see Account 6). If the cotton industry fails to survive, the difference between imports and exports becomes greater. Clearly this is a situation which can exist so long as the rather uncertain invisibles of the grant-in-aid, development funds, and remittances continue.<sup>a</sup> It is not however the object of economic policy to increase dependence on charity but rather to decrease it.

<sup>a</sup>This problem is viewed rather as an income problem than as a balance of payments problem. In a dependent economy a disequilibrium in the balance of payments does not have much economic significance as such. In any economy, but in particular where there is little difference between the gross domestic product and the national income and a high dependence on overseas trade, the link between overseas earnings and the ability to import is a direct one.

If these subsidies to the economy (private and public) were removed Montserrat would need to find at least \$1.5<sup>a</sup> million worth of new economic activity, simply to maintain the levels of consumption at the 1956 level. If the standard of living were to be raised to that of, for instance Antigua, and funds were to be available for capital purposes it would be necessary for the present level of economic activity to be more than doubled. It is not intended in this study to suggest actual industries which would be suitable to try in Montserrat so much as to outline some of the fundamental difficulties facing economic development in a small island such as this.

The size of the market places strict limitations on the range of goods which can be produced for domestic use. The most important home-produced domestic goods are of course food goods. On the whole the subsistence economy of Montserrat is of a fairly high standard, but owing to periodic drought conditions and seasonality of some of the basic tree products there are periods of the year when domestic food is scarce, and hardship results. This factor leads to increased cash expenditure on food and increases the import content of the food budget to more than would be necessary if home supplies were regular. Advisory services, better local marketing arrangements and bottling, canning and preserving for local use might alleviate this position. There is little doubt that more meat, fish and dairy products could be produced at home. The rehabilitation of the sugar industry would save imports of sugar and rum. On the whole however the bulk of the goods which Montserrat now imports are goods which could not easily be produced at home. A rising standard of living would probably make the import content of consumers' expenditure even higher. Although it is worthwhile to take what steps are feasible to improve the quantity and quality of home-grown food, and substitute domestic products for imports whenever this can be done, it must be emphasized that the expansion of the economy by means of increased self-sufficiency is limited by the fact that food products can only occupy so much of the family budget, and this proportion is likely to decrease if living standards rise. At the present level of population it is not considered that increased self-sufficiency could possibly produce industries worth more than at the most \$500 thousand (even allowing for secondary effects).

Thus Montserrat must look to an expanded exports sector, if solvency and economic expansion are sought. The problems which Montserrat has faced in the past in endeavouring to export are the results of her smallness and isolation. Cotton has been the main export, but alone the island had little knowledge of, or influence on the marketing of the product. The second most important export was fruit and vegetables. The island has sold these products to nearby islands and they have been shipped even to America and Bermuda. There has generally been a good market for the products but shipping difficulties have frustrated development of the industries. It is not unnatural that ships will not call at small ports unless economic cargoes can be offered. At times when there have been large supplies of produce to hand, ships

<sup>a</sup>One dollar (W.I.) equals 4/2d. or approximately 55 cents (U.S.)



have not been available. This has led to complete loss to the growers and has discouraged them from growing for export. This problem is a good example of the fact that in economic planning, particularly for agricultural expansion, the production problem cannot be divorced from the shipping and marketing problem. In view of this, it is encouraging to note that plans are well advanced for bringing Montserrat into the banana trade which Dominica has recently successfully entered. This involves co-ordinating production and shipping, that is, in order to avoid a high wastage proportion, the assurance of frequent shipping facilities, which again demand a high and sustained level of output. This industry could make an enormous difference to the economy of Montserrat and could probably even achieve the proportions necessary to make the economy solvent. The banana trade is of course highly organized by the main selling companies, but it is suggested that, even on a more limited scale, it is the same approach which is necessary to the development of the other perishable export crops — that hopeful markets should be found, that shipping firms should be approached regarding the minimum quantities they would consider economic, and at that stage steps be taken to secure the production necessary, if this is possible.

One of the more hopeful features of the economic outlook is the fact that the products which Montserrat has traditionally exported are ones for which there is likely to be (apart from temporary fluctuations) a firm and expanding world demand. If the standard of living rises in any country people tend to increase their demand for fruit, vegetables and meat, and decrease their demand for such products as rice, roots and other basic foods. The demand for sea-island cotton (although subject somewhat to the vagaries of fashion) is a specialized demand and could probably be put on a much firmer basis through co-ordinated action by the producing islands.

To many people the idea of economic development implies a departure from agricultural production into the realms of processing and manufacturing. It is rather a pity if agriculture is necessarily thought to imply backwardness and industry to imply advance. For some agricultural products, particularly those of a specialized type, the income earned may be relatively high. Whether or not processing can be carried out in an island the size of Montserrat will moreover depend entirely on the size and quality of the agricultural output. Thus it is futile to consider processing industries in any sense as a substitute for primary industries since in any event the improvement and expansion of agriculture would precede the former. Generally speaking, where transport costs are high and given an economic level of primary production, processing will be worthwhile when weight is lost through the processing industry, for instance by the manufacture of coconut oil, or the exportation of frozen or salted meat instead of cattle on the hoof. The canning of fruit and vegetables, although it may be worthwhile for domestic use and even for export to nearby islands, is likely to add too much weight to the final product to make large-scale exporting economic. As regards actual manufacturing industries, it must be remembered that for most of these some

raw materials have to be imported, and it is not likely to be economical to do this for such a small market. The improvement of agriculture with a view ultimately to increasing the processing of local products thus appears to be the best means by which Montserrat can increase her national income.

### *The Cost of Government*

Montserrat is the smallest administrative unit in the East Caribbean, and it may be asked whether the unit is not too small to support a full government structure. The current government expenditure was equal, in 1956, to approximately \$60.5 per head of the population. This is high as compared with other administrations but it must be remembered that only \$23 is cost per head to the local population, the remainder being obtained from the grant-in-aid. Although Montserrat may thus be considered too small to support an individual government, and arguments may thus be put forward for amalgamating many administrative and other governmental functions with one or more of the other islands (an argument strengthened by the growth of local airlines), it must be noted that in 1957 government contributed 23.2 per cent to the gross domestic product. The grant-in-aid is in fact contributing substantially to the economy as a whole and its loss would mean a reduction in the national income. The future of the administration will thus depend to some extent on the future of this subsidy. Without it, the local economy would no doubt find it difficult to support a single administration and local opinion may favour closer ties with nearby units in order to secure economies. But so long as the existence of a unit government attracts an external subsidy, to abolish that administration would be to kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

In spite of the fact that the present structure of the West Indies Federation will not lead to many economies in the actual administrations of the small islands, the standard of certain services will be increased, in particular, to smaller units who cannot individually afford advisers and scientific personnel. Transportation, which is one of the main problems in the smaller islands, is also likely to be improved by federal action. Economic planning on a federal level will no doubt pay particular attention to the depressed economies in the area (and at the time of writing, Montserrat has perhaps more claim than any other unit to be classed as a depressed economy). It is to be hoped that such planning will be of a sufficiently far-reaching nature to result in actual expansion of the income-earning potential of these areas. At the present, owing to the rapid advances being made in Trinidad and Jamaica, the gap in *per capita* income between the richest and the poorest of the units in the Federation is widening, prompt action will be needed if this tendency is to be arrested, let alone reversed.

### *The Effect of Emigration*

Although there has been emigration from many parts of the Federation it is probably true to say that in no single unit has emigration had such a

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significant effect on the economy as in Montserrat. The five years reviewed in this study are perhaps the crucial ones in regard to this problem and two main features, the stagnation of certain local industries and the growth of remittance income, underlines the fact that emigration is tending to cause basic changes in the structure of the economy. The loss of an important part of the effectual labour force magnifies the problem of industries with a high seasonal demand for labour. The changing structure of the population with an increased proportion of children and old people must impose pressures on government services such as education and health. Planning for the economic future of the island must therefore pay attention to the peculiar nature of the labour force pattern in an island where emigration may well be continuous (mobility of labour within the Federal region, if it is achieved, may well give a fresh impetus to emigration from the smaller, poorer islands).

These remarks on emigration bring us to what is perhaps the crucial question underlying economic planning for the small islands within the Federation. Is the object of economic planning to be the maximum development of the Federation as a whole even if this means an uneven development favouring the richer areas, but at the same time giving inhabitants of poorer areas the right to seek work in the wealthier areas? Or is the object of economic planning to be the raising of standards in all regions, even if this requires (as it undoubtedly would) special policies of capital assistance, incentives to investment and "zoning" of industry to raise the level of living in the "depressed areas" and to encourage the residents of these areas to stay at home? It is not intended in this study to evaluate these alternatives but it will be clear that the future of such units as Montserrat depends to a great extent on which of these policies is adopted.

## II

### A SET OF SECTOR ACCOUNTS FOR MONTSERRAT

The economy of this island is small and basically simple so that a very simplified set of sector accounts has been adopted. The object of a set of sector accounts is to show in double entry form the transactions between the major sectors in the economy.

The sector accounts used in this study are modelled on the scheme prepared by Dudley Seers for Barbados (7, 2). In current national accounts estimates being made for the larger economies of the West Indies a modification of the U.N. system is used (8). This is not altogether suitable for the small islands and the system used here is favoured. Nevertheless the demands of regional uniformity and requirements of a "federal" estimate necessitate the production of a system comparable and additive with that in use in the larger units. In Tables 1, 13, 14, 15 and 17 therefore, the data is available from which a system of accounts approximating to the U.N. pattern could be drawn up. As such a system would not be particularly meaningful in

regard to one island on its own, it is suggested that for each island separately the modified Seers system be used, whilst the figures for the U.N. system are ultimately presented as an aggregation of the three Leewards administrations.

The sector accounts used in the Montserrat study are even more simplified than those used by Seers for Barbados. The main difference of importance is that the "companies" sector is omitted here. Companies as such are not an important part of the Montserrat economy and a distinction between incorporated and non-incorporated business tends to mask the rather more important distinction between locally-owned and absentee-owned business.

The omission of the companies sector leads to a special treatment of profit and saving. Company profit is treated in the same way as non-incorporated profit in the standard system of accounts in that it is allocated firstly to households, excepting that part of profit which is payable to absentee shareholders and property owners, which is shown in the overseas account. This treatment results in the showing of all private saving as saving of households. It masks the saving made directly by cotton (in actual fact negligible) and by other industries. It is in fact masked even in the standard system of accounts as regards unincorporated business, so that the innovation is not particularly revolutionary.

In Account I the transactions for the cotton industry are shown separately as this is the most important industry. In fact the figures indicate that, apart from its importance as an export, cotton is not of overwhelming importance as a contributor to the national income. Although government marketing started in 1955, the direct transaction between the "cotton sector" and the "overseas sector" is retained in order to preserve continuity.

Account 2 shows the transactions for all other industries, and agriculture. The profit shown includes all profits of business and farming including non-monetary income. The profit paid overseas to absentees is however excluded.

Account 3 shows the allocation of saving and investment funds. This is purely a monetary account showing the source of funds and their allocation. It should be noted again that the item of "private saving" does in fact include savings made by "cotton" and "other industries" as well as by households. Increases in government holdings of currency are considered as increases in short-term assets. The movements of funds cannot however be traced with the exactness desired and must therefore be treated as broad estimates.

Account 4 shows the income and expenditure of households. More details of these items are shown in Tables 14 and 15.

Account 5 shows the transactions of government which were summarized from the government accounts.

Account 6 shows the overseas transactions of the island on current and capital account. The details of this account emphasizes the extreme dependence of the economy on the outside world. The final figures showing net lending and net borrowing include all unidentified capital movements.

Account 7 shows in matrix form the sum of the various receipts and payments between the six sectors.

SECTOR ACCOUNTS FOR MONTSERRAT 1953-56  
ACCOUNT 1. COTTON INDUSTRY SECTOR (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
<i>Receipts from:</i>						
<i>Other Industries</i>						
By-products						
Households	6.2	4.2	3.1	2.6		
Government						
Savings and Investment						
Overseas						
Exports	307.2	426.3	305.9	10.2		
<i>Payments to:</i>						
<i>Other Industries</i>						
Goods and services	50.1	64.5	65.3			
Household						
Wages and salaries	181.7	240.9	185.2			
Retained profit	22.5	46.2	18.1			
Government						
Indirect fees, taxes, etc.	15.2	22.2	15.2			
Savings and Investment						
Overseas						
Expatriate profits and direct imports	43.9	56.7	25.2			
	313.4	430.5	309.0	12.8		

ACCOUNT 2. OTHER INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956		1953	1954	1955	1956
<i>Receipts from:</i>									
Cotton					<i>Payments to:</i>				
Goods and services	50.1	64.5	65.3	18.1	Cotton				
Households					By-products				
Purchases of goods and services	2147.3	2069.7	2067.3	1886.2	Households				
Government					Salaries and wages	589.9	625.9	649.1	645.6
Goods and services	79.9	79.1	105.2	141.8	Profit (including profit of small farming and net rent, excluding expatriate profit)				
Savings and Investment	309.2	399.2	415.8	430.7	Government	1018.6	937.6	857.3	687.2
Construction					Indirect taxes	139.9	157.1	154.5	163.3
Overseas	89.9	105.4	95.9	159.5	Fees, payments for services	27.5	9.8	39.5	41.2
Export: goods	85.0	28.0	20.0	10.0	Savings and Investment				
" services					Overseas				
					Imports: goods, c.i.f. services <sup>a</sup>	958.7	999.3	1053.6	1713.6
						20.6	12.0	12.4	12.8
	2761.4	2745.9	2769.5	2646.3		2761.4	2745.9	2769.5	2646.3



### ACCOUNT 3. SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT SECTOR (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1953	1954	1955	1956
<b>Receipts from:</b>								
Cotton								
Other Industries								
Households								
Private saving	32.8	199.5	291.7	478.3				
Government (current)		30.2	218.0	99.2				
Surplus on current account								
<b>Overseas</b>	82.3	109.0	130.5	284.7				
Development and Welfare								
Other government capital	57.5	19.8	1.7	1.1				
receipts	26.3	22.2	6.0	—				
Direct private investment								
Decrease in the value of								
locally owned assets overseas:								
Government	—	35.0	11.3	—				
Private	—	—	—	—				
Decrease in short term								
funds overseas by gov-								
ernment and banks	230.5							
Net borrowing		.7						
	429.3	416.4	665.2	863.3	429.3	416.4	665.2	863.3

ACCOUNT 4. HOUSEHOLDS SECTOR (\$'000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1953	1954	1955	1956
<i>Receipts from:</i>								
<i>Cotton</i>								
Wages and salaries	181.7	240.9	185.2	41.2				
Profit (less overseas)	22.5	46.2	18.1	-12.7				
<i>Other industries</i>								
Salaries and wages	589.9	625.9	649.1	645.6				
Profit (including net rents and profit of small farms, excluding expatriate profits)								
<i>Government</i>	1018.6	937.6	857.3	667.2				
Salaries and wages	474.3	494.9	513.1	619.2				
Transfers	10.0	15.6	15.6	10.0				
<i>Saving and investment</i>								
Overseas								
Factor income	6.5	8.1	7.5	8.5				
Remittances and donations	93.3	158.8	483.1	769.0				
	2396.8	2528.0	2729.0	2748.0	2396.8	2528.0	2729.0	2748.0
<i>Payments to:</i>								
<i>Cotton</i>								
<i>Other industries</i>								
Goods and services	2147.3	2069.7	2067.3	1886.2				
<i>Government</i>								
Direct taxes								
Payment for services, etc.	56.5	61.5	68.5	56.2				
Savings and investment	125.0	137.2	151.3	150.0				
Private saving	32.8	199.5	291.7	478.3				
<i>Overseas</i>								
Payments and purchases	35.2	60.1	150.2	177.3				

ACCOUNT 5. GOVERNMENT (CURRENT) SECTOR (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1953	1954	1955	1956
<i>Receipts from:</i>								
<i>Cotton</i>								
Indirect taxes and purchases	15.2	22.2	15.2	.8				
<i>Other industries</i>								
Indirect taxes	139.9	157.1	154.5	163.3				
Fees, payments for services	27.5	9.8	39.5	41.2				
<i>Households</i>								
Direct taxes	56.5	61.5	68.5	56.2				
Payments for services, fees, fines	125.0	137.2	151.3	150.0				
<i>Savings and investment</i>								
Deficit on current account	14.4							
<i>Overseas</i>								
Payments: (wharfage, postage stamps, etc.)	35.2	6.8	105.2	18.5				
Grant-in-aid (Current)	278.2	337.9	425.7	538.4				
	691.9	732.5	959.9	968.4	691.9	732.5	959.9	968.4
<i>Payments to:</i>								
<i>Cotton</i>								
Purchases of goods and services					79.9	79.1	105.2	141.8
<i>Other industries</i>								
Households								
Salaries and wages					474.3	494.9	513.1	619.2
Transfers					10.0	15.6	15.6	10.0
<i>Savings and investment</i>								
Surplus on current account						30.2	218.0	99.2
<i>Overseas</i>								
Subscriptions					88.2	61.5	75.3	46.3
Direct purchases					22.5	25.0	12.6	16.2
Transfers					17.0	26.2	20.1	35.7



ACCOUNT 7. THE STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY: TABLE SHOWING TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN SIX SECTORS, 1955 (\$'000)

	Receipts from:					Totals
	Cotton	Other Industry and Agriculture	Saving and Investment	Households	Government	Overseas
<i>Payments to:</i>						
Cotton	—	3.1	—	—	—	305.9
Other industry and agriculture	65.3	—	415.8	2067.3	105.2	115.9
Savings and investment	—	—	—	291.7	218.0	2769.5
Households	203.3	1506.4	—	—	528.7	665.2
Government	15.2	194.0	—	219.8	—	2729.0
Overseas	25.2	1066.0	249.4	150.2	108.0	530.9
Total	309.0	2769.5	665.2	2729.0	959.9	1598.8
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## III

## THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

*The Cotton Industry in Montserrat*

The pattern of agricultural employment in Montserrat includes both wage employment and self employment, and many agricultural workers grow cash crops in small plots around their homes as well as food crops. The wage employment which they find on the cotton estates is of a highly seasonal nature. Cotton provides work for male labour during the planting season and in spite of underemployment throughout the year there is sometimes a shortage of labour during certain seasons, a position which has been aggravated by the emigration of many younger workers. Female labour is generally employed in other cotton operations but the employment pattern is more highly seasonal for male workers.

Cotton is produced by estates, by small farmers working individually and by share croppers. Table 2 shows the distribution of acreages under the different tenures.

TABLE 2. ACREAGE UNDER COTTON, 1951-57, BY TENURE (1)

	Estates Acres	Peasants (freehold and rented) Acres	Share-cropping Acres	Total Acres
1951	978	1,514	680	3,172
1952	976	1,946	761	3,863
1953	702	1,184	84	1,970
1954	932	1,624	391	2,947
1955	913	1,413	182	2,508
1956	655	824	21	1,500
1957	756	1,342	87	2,185

These figures illustrate the decline in cotton cultivation in the years under review. It is noteworthy that the peasant and share croppers' acreage is subject to much greater fluctuations than that of estates.

Figures which are available showing yields per acre in cotton over the past thirty years indicate many fluctuations, but on average a steady decline in yields. This indicates that little has been done in the way of land improvement, fertilizing and other improvements of techniques, although, due to the work of the Agricultural Department and certain estates, the line has been kept fairly pure and Montserrat sea island cotton is considered to be of a high grade. The fact that the industry has for many years been of marginal profitability may account for the reluctance to plough back profits in land improvement but the present crisis in the industry must be largely attributed to the fact that it has relied for years on methods of production which utilize little capital and much cheap labour, and these methods cannot be maintained today in the face of emigration and strong trade unionism.

The cotton industry in Montserrat was much assisted by the Raw Cotton

TABLE I. MONTERRAT: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT FACTOR COST

	1953		1954		1955		1956		1957	
	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%
Cotton	239.8	10.0	324.4	12.4	223.0	8.7	-9.2	- .4	208.8	7.3
Other primary	982.5	40.9	1024.3	39.2	1057.5	41.2	1146.0	45.4	1200.7	42.1
Secondary	25.0	1.0	28.0	1.1	24.0	0.9	27.0	1.1	23.0	0.8
Engineering and construction	147.5	6.2	172.2	6.6	188.8	7.4	185.7	7.4	201.2	7.0
Distribution, transport, finance	351.9	14.7	384.2	14.7	375.6	14.6	363.9	14.4	382.3	13.4
Personal and entertainment	50.2	2.1	56.5	2.2	54.3	2.1	53.1	2.1	54.8	1.9
Rent of dwellings	122.5	5.1	122.5	4.7	122.5	4.8	122.5	4.9	122.5	4.3
Government	481.3	20.0	499.9	19.1	520.6	20.3	634.4	25.1	663.2	23.2
Total	2,400.7		2,612.0		2,566.3		2,523.4		2,856.5	

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Commission which operated as a U.K. government centralized buying agency during the years 1948 and 1952. During this period the price of cotton rose from 74 cents per lb. to 134 cents per lb. Sea island cotton is a very specialized product and does not ordinarily compete in the markets for other cottons. There is little doubt therefore that centralized buying could be the means of securing a better price. It was perhaps the threat to abolish the Raw Cotton Commission (which was carried out in 1952) which spread the first feelings of insecurity in the industry and led to a reduction in the acreage. Particularly was this feared because the Raw Cotton Commission had offered a contract price at the planting season. During the years 1953 to date the predicament of the cotton industry has significantly worsened.

Management/labour relations in the cotton industry have been bad for years, and these have deteriorated during the period. The main reasons are the general poverty of the industry and its reluctance to pay wages comparable with those paid in nearby islands, the fact that management was slow in recognizing modern trade union development, dissension in the union itself and the fact that the workers could not recognize that the planters were in fact financially embarrassed (and often unable to raise wages) and dissatisfaction of the workers with the terms under which they operated the share-cropping systems. Two commissions of enquiry have been held during the period under review. The first (the Beasley Commission) (5) reported in 1953 and the second, (the Malone Commission) (6) in 1958. Both commissions noted the serious financial position of the industry and its inability to pay reasonable wages, resulting in a degree of malnutrition and extreme poverty amongst the working people. Table 3 gives an indication of the deterioration in the industry during the years under review.

TABLE 3. COTTON PRODUCTION 1953-57 (1)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Clean lint lb.	325,756	376,937	258,844	—	229,735
Stained lint lb.	14,100	33,422	24,179	—	15,196
Acreage	1,974	2,947	2,508	1,500	1,500
Value of exports (lint, seed, etc.)	307.2	426.3	\$000 310.4	19.4	265.3

A dispute in 1953 held up planting, and conditions were worsened by a prolonged drought. In both 1953 and 1954 rainfall was well below average and in the latter year yields suffered from an infestation of bollworms. A continuation of these conditions in 1955 was the final blow which led to a practically unanimous decision on the part of the industry to change the planting season, a suggestion which had been mooted some years before but which had not found universal favour as it necessitated passing over one season with no crop.

In the other cotton-growing islands of the West Indies the planting season is in the months of August, September and October. In Montserrat up to 1955, it was in February, March, April. It was felt that by altering this to the

summer months advantage could be taken of the wetter season of the autumn for growing. The change was not at once accepted by the smaller growers and a very small acreage was planted in 1956. In 1957 however the weather was more favourable and yields better. The government acted as purchasing agent and a start was made to centralize and improve growing facilities. During 1957-58 planting conditions were favourable but a serious labour dispute in early 1958 prevented harvesting. It was as a result of this dispute that the Malone Commission was appointed. The report of this commission showed on the whole that the wage demands of the workers were justified and urged an increase in wages. The negotiations were however protracted and were only finally settled after the time when planting should have started. Even after final settlement in the workers' favour, estates found some difficulty in procuring labour, and this seemed to indicate that reluctance to work on the estates was not purely a matter of low wages but involved deep-seated attitudes and a preference for other work, or if possible emigration. There is however, some evidence that peasant acreage is increasing, which may well be a result of the good price paid in 1957-58.

Although there has been during the latter part of the period much loss of wage income through disputes, the reduced acreage and the change of season, the sector account for cotton (Account 1) indicates that the change-over of season was financed mainly by the plantation owners. The finance for this is assumed to come partly from reserves (which are however believed to have been low), partly from transfer of reserves from other associated concerns overseas and to some extent from bank lending.

It is too early to say yet whether the industry will be able to ride the present storm and emerge in a position to pay the new rate of wages and to secure the capital necessary for improvement. The answer will depend largely on whether a scientific attitude is taken as regards production methods and also of course on the marketing arrangements and future price of sea island cotton.

#### *Other Primary Products*

Sugar is produced in Montserrat but was solely for local use and the manufacture of rum during the years under survey. During the last century sugar was produced mainly on peasant holdings but the industry was a high-cost one compared with those in nearby islands. There has been some discussion regarding the rehabilitation of the crop. On the whole natural conditions do not favour mechanization and it is doubtful whether the crop could assist in securing a better distribution of the employment pattern. Output of rum and sugar was as follows during the period under review:

TABLE 4. OUTPUT OF RUM AND SUGAR

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Sugar Estates acres (approx.)	200	150	150	150	150
Barrels of sugar (approx.)	20	0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Rum, gallons	15,492	15,089	13,693	13,628	9,267

The sugar industry was controlled by one firm during the period 1953-55 so the relevant values have been added in with those for the other agricultural industries in the primary sector. In 1955 the sugar mill on one of the estates occupied by settlers was re-opened and 600 gallons of sugar was made for local use. In 1956 this was increased to 900 gallons.

### *Fruit and Vegetables*

The total value of production of fruit and vegetables was estimated to be as shown in table 5 for the year under review.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED VALUE OF PRODUCTION: FRUIT AND VEGETABLES (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Limes and lime products	36.0	23.0	15.0	17.5	13.0
Other citrus	3.2	3.5	2.0	3.0	2.9
Coconuts and copra	25.0	22.0	18.2	19.5	16.2
Bananas, plantains	79.0	110.0	105.2	121.2	118.9
Breadfruit	48.2	38.3	51.0	47.5	52.2
Mangoes	40.7	32.2	42.9	38.1	47.2
Other fruit	28.2	28.2	21.7	29.4	32.1
Arrowroot	30.1	30.2	30.5	31.0	32.0
Cassava	12.2	14.2	15.3	14.3	15.3
Sweet potato	125.1	110.2	135.0	135.0	135.0
Maize	8.4	10.2	12.5	12.5	9.5
Other crops	200.2	205.1	182.2	195.0	215.0
Total	636.3	627.1	631.5	664.0	689.3

The value of exports of main agricultural products except cotton is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. VALUE OF EXPORTS: AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Limes and products	30.0	17.9	9.2	13.7	9.1
Tomatoes	20.0	8.6	20.8	51.2	16.9
Carrots	11.0	5.7	14.6	23.3	10.5
Shallots	.9	2.5	2.1	1.4	3.2
Other fruit and vegetables	3.0	4.6	4.0	3.8	3.1
Hides and skins	2.1	2.4	4.2	3.3	4.5
Coconuts	.2	1.1	.3	.2	—
Tamarinds	4.4	3.2	3.4	4.2	4.5
Rum	3.9	9.6	—	.4	.3
Other	.3	.2	.3	4.8	—
Total	75.8	55.8	58.9	106.3	52.1

Good quality fruit and vegetables have for many years been an important export from Montserrat. In recent years fresh products were sent to Bermuda and the United States. The decline in shipping services has been responsible for the deterioration of this trade. Although some products are carried to nearby islands by small local vessels, the revival of this export industry depends ultimately on the provision either of an air service or of a refrigerated shipping service. The growing of limes and making of lime juice and lime oil for export takes place mainly in one or two estates on the leeward side of the island. Drought and disease have however led to a deterioration in output over the last few years.



If we subtract the export values from the total value of production, we find the estimated value of home-consumed fruit and vegetables. Approximately 58 per cent is estimated to have been purchased in the cash market in 1953 (much of it, however, as a result of cash transactions within the villages or community) whilst the remaining 42 per cent is estimated as subsistence production of peasants for their own use. For 1956-57, the proportions are estimated at 55 per cent and 45 per cent. When estimating the factor incomes of the total production of fruit and vegetables, it is evident that few reductions must be made, for the main costs of production are factor incomes such as wages, profit and rent of land. Other payments, such as hire or use of machinery, purchase of books and fertilizers, are low. An analysis of individual items shows that the factor incomes or gross output averaged 86 per cent of the total value of sales. Table 7 shows the gross value of sales together with the cash and subsistence proportions, and the value of gross output (cash and subsistence). Subsistence production is valued at ex-farm prices.

TABLE 7. FRUIT AND VEGETABLES: VALUE OF SALES AND OUTPUT (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Cash production	369.9	363.7	371.9	365.2	379.3
Non Cash production	266.4	263.4	259.6	298.8	310.0
Total Value	636.3	627.1	631.5	664.0	689.3
Gross output	545.5	539.3	543.1	571.0	592.7

Other items coming under primary production are listed in Table 8. They include livestock products, fish and forestry products. There were no significant exports except for some hides and skins.

TABLE 8. OTHER PRIMARY PRODUCTION, 1953-57 (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Gross value:					
Milk	85	90	118	137	159
Meat	172	193	198	219	221
Other livestock products	42	49	50	52	52
Fish	99	110	120	112	133
Quarry and forest products	135	149	156	181	176
Total gross value	533	591	642	701	741
Gross value of cash output	298	333	377	419	433
Gross value, non cash	235	258	265	282	308
Gross output (82% gross value)	437	485	526	575	608

The number of cattle in the island has increased from an estimated 2,140 in 1946 to 3,162 in 1953 and to 4,999 in 1957. In 1957 2,133 were females of 2 years and over. In 1958 cattle were exported to Martinique at a fairly favourable price and it seems likely that markets could be found for live-stock products overseas once the needs of the local community were met. Slaughterings (registered) for the years under review are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9. REGISTERED LIVESTOCK SLAUGHTERINGS

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Cattle	357	465	547	371	330
Sheep	505	655	905	722	526
Swine	295	250	404	305	245
Goats	604	917	796	715	632

Figures were not available for fish production and values are based on rough estimates of consumption. The coast of Montserrat is rocky; there are not many good landing places and subsistence fishing is not so easy as it is in some of the neighbouring islands. The government is however taking steps to encourage the fishing industry.

For forestry again, data were scant. The greatest part of the value is in respect of firewood and charcoal. There are some stands of commercial timber in Montserrat, and such hardwoods as the local white cedar are used for construction and boat-building.

#### *Sources of Data for Agricultural Estimates*

The cotton industry in Montserrat is fairly well documented due to there having been two commissions of enquiry; one in 1953 and one in 1958. From the reports of these commissions data on costs of production, wages, prices and output were utilized. The annual reports of the Agricultural Department for 1953-57 were used for cotton estimates and for estimates for other branches of agriculture. A further very useful source of data was the pilot survey of agriculture undertaken in 1957 by the pre-federal authorities, the results of which were made available by the Federal Agricultural Economist in 1958.

#### *Secondary Industries*

Very little is included under this head since it has been found necessary to include rum making, cotton growing and lime oil production under primary production. Thus, under secondary industries, we include only such concerns as tailoring, baking, printing and a few craft industries. Estimates of the gross output (the sum of factor incomes) are as follows: (\$000) 1953 = 25, 1954 = 28, 1955 = 24, 1956 = 27, 1957 = 23. A few enquiries were made and the general result of these led to the belief that emigration has influenced these industries, particularly tailoring, and has led to a slight reduction in local output, with probably a consequent substitution of ready-made articles.

#### *Engineering and Construction*

Most of the work under this head was undertaken by government, either as public works extraordinary or under development schemes. The totals of government expenditure (excluding maintenance) were as shown in Table 10. There were some government schemes for residential buildings under Development and Welfare but there are no funds in Montserrat comparable

TABLE 10. GOVERNMENT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956
Public Works extraordinary	8.7	15.2	26.6	22.3
Land settlement scheme	12.2	8.4	7.7	6.2
Development and Welfare	82.4	109.0	136.5	284.8
Total government	103.3	132.6	170.8	313.3

with the Sugar Labour Welfare funds which have accomplished substantial progress in housing in St. Kitts and Antigua. The sales value and gross output (factor incomes) from building and construction (including motor engineering) were estimated as in Table 11. Most of these values are attributable to government. There is very little evidence of significant private investment during the period, either in agriculture, business or private housing.

TABLE 11. SALES VALUE AND GROSS OUTPUT ENGINEERING AND CONSTRUCTION (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Sales value	345.2	419.2	445.8	445.7	543.9
Gross output	147.5	172.2	188.8	185.7	201.2

### *Distribution, Finance, Transport*

This sector includes distribution, retail and wholesale, importing and exporting, banking and insurance and land and sea transport. It may also be noted that Leeward Islands Air Transport is a company registered in Montserrat, but as it did not become operative until 1957, it has not been included. In any case the company does not contribute very much in actual payments to residents of Montserrat, as most of the capital is owned overseas and many of the employees are resident overseas.

Table 12 shows the gross value of sales in distribution and transport and the gross domestic product (or gross output) of distribution, transport, finance and insurance.

TABLE 12. DISTRIBUTION AND COMMERCE (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Value turnover:					
Distribution	842.3	769.9	761.8	783.8	801.2
Road transport	93.2	101.1	98.9	110.8	115.7
Water, stevedoring	118.2	144.5	131.0	78.1	102.5
Total	1,053.7	1,015.5	991.7	972.7	1,019.4
Value Gross output:					
Distribution	225.0	229.2	230.9	240.3	259.2
Road transport	32.3	37.1	39.2	40.1	41.1
Water	41.1	55.2	48.2	32.8	28.8
Banking, insurance etc.	53.5	62.7	57.3	50.7	53.2
Total	351.9	384.2	375.6	363.9	382.3

The totals for distribution were arrived at partly through the use of amalgamated tax records. A number of storekeepers are too small to make

tax returns and an estimate of annual turnover per store was multiplied by the number of stores as registered with the licensing authorities. There were 141 registered retailers in 1957 and an additional 52 businesses which had liquor licenses but not store licenses. There were 37 commercial vehicles in 1957 and again the totals were reached by first estimating the cost pattern for one vehicle. There were two locally-owned ships which were of some importance in the island trade. One of these was lost in 1955 (and the other in 1958 but it was operating throughout our period); water transport also includes lighterage and stevedoring. The number of vessels cleared in 1956 was 403, over half of which were sailing vessels or auxiliaries.

Insurance and banking totals were estimated from income tax aggregates. Income includes the estimated difference between premiums and claims (plus local expenses) for insurance; and for banks, wages, salaries, profits plus interest paid to depositors. There is one commercial bank and a Government Savings Bank. It is worthy of note that deposits in the Government Savings Bank increased from (\$000) 352.9 in 1953 to 507.0 in 1957. This must not be taken purely as indicative of increase in incomes since it may signify a rise in the banking habit. It is also considered that part of the remittances sent home by emigrants from Montserrat may have been put in savings accounts either for themselves or for their families.

#### *Professional and Personal Service.*

This industry includes the earnings of doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers and other professional people (except when paid by the government). The totals for such services and for catering and entertaining establishments were estimated from inland revenue totals. For personal service only a broad guess could be made, based on an estimated number of domestic servants and the average wage (including payments in kind). The total of gross output was estimated as follows: (\$000) 1953 = 50.2; 1954 = 56.5; 1955 = 54.3; 1956 = 53.7; 1957 = 54.8.

#### *Rent of Dwellings*

The estimate for actual and imputed rent was difficult to arrive at for this island as there are no recent records of the number of dwellings. As a broad estimate it was reckoned that there were 2,300 dwellings in the island and that the average annual rental value was \$75. As there appears to have been little change in rents during the period and as the estimate is in any case of a rather dubious nature the figure of (\$000) 172.5 for gross rent has been included for all years. A deduction has been made for outgoings, leaving a net rent of \$122.5 per annum.

#### *Government*

This sector includes government wages and salaries and a small amount representing government rent of property and interest on loans. Such services as electricity, water supply and post offices have not been treated as

profit-making enterprises but as government services on the expenditure side whilst their revenue has been treated as ordinary revenue. In fact the Post Office did make a profit in most years. The present treatment is however in line with that used in other West Indian territories.

#### IV

##### NATIONAL INCOME, HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ON CONSUMPTION AND INVESTMENT

###### *National Income*

The national income is derived from the gross domestic product as follows:

Firstly, we arrive at the net domestic product by deducting a figure for depreciation of assets. This difference between gross and net domestic product can be important in some countries, since if the capital assets of the country are to be maintained intact a portion of the domestic product will be set aside for this purpose. This will generally be a form of saving out of profit and must be allowed for before we consider how much profit is available for distribution and for actually increasing the capital stock. The estimate for depreciation in Montserrat is not however considered to be of great importance. Firstly, in Montserrat there is a greater proportion of government-owned to total assets than in most countries. It is not conventional to amortize government assets and no depreciation figure is included in their account. Secondly, Montserrat agriculture is of low capital-intensity and much of the machinery that exists is of such an age as to be completely written off. These problems of measurement exist in almost any economy but are magnified in Montserrat owing to the extremely small and low-valued stock of capital. The estimate made for depreciation is thus of rather a crude nature. It is considered that depreciation of vehicles and ships account for over 25% of the total of depreciation.

National income is reached by deducting from net domestic product, factor incomes earned in Montserrat but sent to residents overseas, and by adding factor incomes earned overseas by residents of Montserrat. The former includes profits and dividend earned by absentee owners or shareholders of properties in Montserrat, also profits of such expatriate enterprises as banks, insurance companies and some agencies. It should be noted that in this study no distinction is made between companies and non-incorporated business.

The earnings overseas by residents in Montserrat include mainly interest and dividend income on investments held overseas by residents of the island. This item is quite small since Montserrat does not have many retired residents living on *rentier* incomes. It must be noted that remittance incomes are not included in the national income since they are not considered as incomes for economic activity. They do not therefore appear in Table 13 (the national income) but in Table 14 (household income).



TABLE 13. MONTserrat: THE NATIONAL INCOME, 1953-57 (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Remuneration of employees	1,245.9	1,361.7	1,347.4	1,306.0	1,495.5
Cash profits of farming and enterprise	523.9	601.4	564.3	498.9	607.1
Non-cash income	501.4	521.4	524.6	580.8	618.0
Net rent of dwellings	122.5	122.5	122.5	122.5	122.5
Government income from property	7.0	5.0	7.5	15.2	13.2
Gross domestic product at factor cost	2,400.7	2,612.0	2,566.3	2,523.4	2,856.3
Less depreciation	- 11.5	- 12.0	- 11.5	- 11.0	- 12.0
Less factor incomes paid overseas	- 21.2	- 28.3	- 10.7	+ 48.2	- 7.5
Plus factor incomes from overseas	+ 6.5	+ 8.1	+ 7.5	+ 8.5	+ 4.3
National income	2,374.5	2,579.8	2,551.6	2,569.1	2,841.1

TABLE 14. MONTserrat: THE INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS, 1953-57 (\$000)

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Remuneration of employees	1,245.9	1,361.7	1,347.4	1,306.0	1,495.5
Profits of farming and enterprise (retained) including rents	572.5	662.5	642.5	552.5	642.5
Non-cash income	501.4	521.4	524.6	580.8	618.0
Transfers from government	10.0	15.0	15.6	10.0	12.5
Factor income from overseas	6.5	8.1	7.5	8.5	4.3
Remittances and donations	93.3	158.8	483.1	769.0	754.3
Total	2,429.6	2,727.5	3,020.7	3,226.8	3,527.1

TABLE 15. HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE: MONTERRAT, 1953-57

	1953		1954		1955		1956		1957	
	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%
Meat	225.9	9.4	257.0	10.2	179.2	6.7	274.6	10.0	270.7	8.3
Dairy products	174.3	7.3	193.8	7.7	237.9	8.4	240.3	8.7	283.1	8.6
Fish	146.3	6.1	171.0	6.8	188.9	6.9	197.7	7.2	179.6	5.5
Cereals	224.5	9.4	205.2	8.1	202.5	7.4	201.5	7.3	417.6	12.8
Fruit, vegetables and roots	587.5	24.5	616.2	24.4	592.3	21.7	610.2	22.2	742.0	22.7
Sugar	160.5	6.7	93.1	3.7	113.1	4.1	116.8	4.2	150.3	4.6
Beverages	54.6	2.3	65.3	2.6	73.4	2.7	58.7	2.1	98.7	3.0
Tobacco and cigarettes	15.5	0.6	21.2	0.8	9.0	0.3	13.5	0.5	30.2	0.9
Other foods	50.2	2.1	45.6	1.8	46.1	1.7	40.2	1.5	22.2	0.7
Footwear	47.1	2.0	51.5	2.0	73.8	2.7	81.7	3.0	84.3	2.6
Apparel and cloth	126.3	5.3	137.5	5.4	163.2	6.0	156.8	5.7	144.3	4.4
Household	70.6	2.9	105.0	4.2	174.7	6.4	58.1	2.1	100.2	3.0
Personal goods etc.	70.1	2.8	75.0	3.0	83.2	3.0	82.1	3.0	81.4	2.5
Personal and professional services	54.2	2.3	59.3	2.3	59.2	2.2	60.1	2.2	62.1	1.9
Purchases from government, fees etc.	125.0	5.2	137.2	5.4	151.3	5.5	150.0	5.5	172.2	5.2
Rent of dwellings	172.5	7.2	172.5	6.8	172.5	6.3	172.5	6.3	172.5	5.3
Purchases and payments overseas	35.2	1.5	60.1	2.4	150.2	5.5	177.3	6.5	198.7	6.1
Direct taxes	56.5	2.4	61.5	2.4	68.5	2.5	56.2	2.0	63.3	1.9
Total expenditure	2,396.8	100.0	2,528.0	100.0	2,729.0	100.0	2,748.3	100.0	3,273.4	100.0
Savings	32.8		199.5		291.7		478.5		253.7	
Household income	2,429.6		2,727.5		3,020.7		3,226.8		3,527.1	

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Interest on government debt is sometimes excluded from the national income. As it is considered that borrowing by the Montserrat Government has been mainly for capital rather than current purposes, however, it is not excluded in this study.

### *The Income of Households*

Because the inflow and outflow of profit and dividend incomes is so small in Montserrat it is not felt that the aggregate for national income is a particularly valuable or informative statistic. Of far greater interest is the figure for household income which is shown with household expenditure in Tables 14 and 15.

The most spectacular figure in Table 14 is undoubtedly the figure for remittances and donations received in Montserrat by households. This is estimated to have increased from (\$000) 93.5 in 1953 to 769.0 in 1956. In 1957 a slight levelling off seems evident. This rapid increase is of course, the result of increased emigration to U.K. (and to a lesser extent to Canada and the U.S.A.) An estimate is also made for bank drafts. If anything the estimate for total remittances is low, since it is possible that bank notes were also sent to residents in Montserrat. (See Table 16).

TABLE 16. POSTAL ORDERS AND MONEY ORDERS CASHED IN MONTSERRAT AND ESTIMATED BANK DRAFTS RECEIVED (\$000)

Country of Issue.	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
West Indies	13.0	12.5	14.7	12.0	10.4
Canada	2.9	4.2	5.6	5.3	4.9
U.S.A.	58.5	61.1	61.1	51.3	53.8
U. K. money orders	.8	17.8	149.3	193.2	114.1
U.K. postal orders	5.6	23.2	162.4	326.9	376.8
Bank drafts (est.)	12.9	40.0	90.0	180.3	194.3
Total	93.7	158.8	483.1	769.0	754.3

By 1957, remittances were a significant part of household income. They equalled 22.2 per cent of total income of households, and if we subtract subsistence income and consider cash income only, they equalled 27.2 per cent of cash income. Part of this money was sent to enable residents of Montserrat to pay their fares to join relatives in the U.K. and this is shown in the size of the item "Purchases from overseas" in the consumers' expenditure table (Table 15). In the main, however, remittances were used for living expenses at home. It is not felt that this is necessarily a secure source of cash income, since if emigration decreases, the majority of emigrants in the U.K. will have then been there for a long period and may have acquired family responsibilities in their new home which may prevent them from sending so much money to the island. The size of this item is surprising when it is realized that it is sent by probably not more than 2,000 people. It appears that of those people leaving the island many must be skilled workers capable of commanding good remuneration overseas. This could affect the gross national

product detrimentally since the average efficiency of the labour force in the island must have been reduced by the emigration.

Other items in the household income table require some explanation. The figures for remuneration of employees include both wages and salaries. A large part of this total is accounted for under government (current and capital) and the cotton industry, for which statistics are fairly reliable. Commerce (including distributing, stevedoring and finance) is also of some importance, but the figures for this sector and for other smaller sectors are estimated mainly from information gained from larger employers. Family workers on farms are considered as receiving a share in profits rather than wages.

The profits item includes profits of all businesses from companies to the earnings of small peasant proprietors. A deduction is made for profits which are remitted overseas. The companies in Montserrat are not of sufficient importance to justify being shown as a separate sector. Thus the saving shown as a residual between household income and expenditure must include undistributed profit or that part of profit which is invested or is used for the purchase of assets.

Subsistence income is equal to the value of all non-cash goods which are produced for use rather than for sale. Factor incomes from overseas include mainly interest on securities held overseas by firms or persons.

Although the income from cotton was negligible in 1956, this gap was largely filled by increased government spending. Wages were only slightly lower in that year than in 1955.

#### *Household Expenditure*

The pattern of household expenditure is shown in Table 15. Residents spend an estimated 65 per cent of total expenditure on food items. This is considerably higher than in neighbouring islands and this fact follows from the greater proportion of non-cash and lower proportion of cash income to total income as compared with other islands, and also of course from the fact that the national income per head in Montserrat is lower than in other islands. The import content of consumer goods is about 30 per cent (in value terms). This again is lower than in St. Kitts and Antigua, as would be expected from the superior food production conditions in Montserrat. Nevertheless a high marginal propensity to import is evidenced, and increases in cash income are likely to result in a more than proportionate increase in the demand for imports.

The poverty of Montserrat is underlined by the pattern of household expenditure. Poor communities have little remaining resources once basic food and housing needs are met. Expenditure on such items as clothing, household hardware and personal goods such as cosmetics, toys, books, (which may not be considered exactly luxuries) is well below that of most other communities in the West Indies.

Thus the substantial increment to income created by the remittances does not appear to have led to an increase in the standard of living but mainly

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to have stopped the gap created by rising prices and insecure employment conditions, and to some extent to have increased private saving.

The figure for saving is a residual figure and as such cannot be given a high degree of reliability. Nevertheless the proportion of saving to total expenditure is not quite so low as would be expected in such a poor economy. In 1956 losses were made by the cotton industry, and this represents dis-saving. It may thus appear strange that the figure for saving is highest in that year. Owing to a jump in remittance income and to increased government spending, incomes for the island as a whole did not fall significantly in 1956, however, and it is felt that the general insecurity of the employment situation may have stimulated some cash saving. The figures for increases in deposits at the Government Savings Bank do in fact lend support to this theory. Deposits increased in 1954 by \$11,288 in 1955 by \$8,455, in 1956 by \$54,258 and in 1957 by \$87,192. These increases may of course be partly accounted for by a growth of the banking habit but they also bear out other indications of a slight increase in household saving during 1956 and 1957. In view of the importance of emigration in Montserrat it is also felt that increased deposits may mean that more people are saving gradually towards the cost of a fare overseas.

Expenditure on capital goods has increased slightly but this is due almost entirely to increased government capital formation; it is not thought to have been significant during the period.

### THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR

The transactions between government and the rest of the economy and between government and overseas are shown in Account 5. From this account it will be seen that government plays an important part in the economy of Montserrat. From Table 1 also it will be noted that government contributes 23 per cent to the gross domestic product at factor cost. Although a full breakdown of the government accounts is not available a further breakdown of government revenue and expenditure is presented here.

TABLE 17. GOVERNMENT CURRENT REVENUE, 1953-56 (\$000)

Customs	139.9	157.1	154.5	163.2
Port, harbour and wharf dues	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.4
Internal revenue	56.5	61.6	68.6	56.1
Fees, fares and payments for goods and services	183.7	142.2	289.2	178.8
Rents and interest	6.1	4.1	5.8	12.2
Miscellaneous	9.1	24.6	12.0	15.4
Total Local Revenue	399.2	394.4	534.4	430.1
Grant in Aid	278.2	337.9	425.7	538.4
Total Current Revenue	677.4	732.3	960.1	968.5



On the revenue side Table 17 details the main sources of government current revenues. Owing to the financial setbacks in cotton and other branches of private enterprise during the period under review, about 75 per cent of the income tax was paid by civil servants. Thus indirect taxes, and payments for services, including postal services, constituted the main items of revenue contributed by the economy. A considerable revenue was raised from the sale of postage stamps and in 1955 the postal revenue of \$205,245 was the biggest single item of revenue.

From these figures it will be seen that in so far as costs of government are borne internally their incidence falls fairly evenly over the population, through the medium of indirect taxation. On average, however, import duties are rather lower than in nearby economies. If plans for raising the national income through the encouragement of bananas and other small farm products are successful, it is doubtful whether direct taxes will increase as fast as national income since a large number of small farmers are not, even with increased incomes, potential taxpayers. A rehabilitated estate economy would of course produce higher yields in direct taxation. Increases in national income, however generated, will of course raise the yield of import duties.

In Table 18 the allocation of government expenditure is shown under the main heads of Administration, Economic services (which include mainly public works, agriculture and postal services), Social services (mainly education and medical services), Law and defence, Federal contributions (from 1953-55 this was made to the Leewards federal government and in 1956 to the pre-federal authority of the West Indies Federation) and miscellaneous items.

The structure of current expenditure changed slightly in 1956, there being an increase in administrative and legal expenditure relatively to the other categories. It must however be remembered that capital expenditure increased substantially in 1956 due to the Development and Welfare grant (see Table 10). A decline therefore in public works recurrent which is a current item may well be accounted for by a priority claim on labour and equipment for capital works. So far as this is a temporary bottleneck only, it need not be considered significant.

The sector Account for Government (Account 5) indicates the importance of government to the economy. A general discussion of the costs and contribution of government in this island was also included in Section I.

TABLE 18. ALLOCATIONS OF GOVERNMENT CURRENT EXPENDITURE

	1953		1954		1955		1956	
	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%
Administration	89.6	12.9	95.8	13.7	90.4	12.1	132.2	15.2
Economic services	203.0	29.4	222.9	31.8	236.8	31.9	218.1	125.1
Social services	245.3	35.4	236.8	33.8	244.6	32.9	302.4	34.7
Law and defence	40.8	5.9	46.6	6.6	48.6	6.6	118.4	13.6
Federal contributions	67.7	9.8	48.6	7.0	65.2	8.8	34.8	4.0
Other items	45.5	6.6	50.9	7.1	56.3	7.7	63.3	7.4
Total	691.9	100.0	701.6	100.0	741.9	100.0	869.2	100.0

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# Urban Stratification in Haiti

By

S. AND J. COMHAIRE-SYLVAIN

In this paper we shall attempt to show that available statistics permit an objective approach to the problem of Haitian urban stratification. These statistics are neither easily accessible, nor can they be used to advantage by persons lacking experience of the country, since the sources are widely scattered and unco-ordinated, and the data are incomplete. Even so, these figures show clearly that in urban Haiti the stratification is far less simple than that indicated by previous authors.

## *Historical Background*

In 1749, the French government of Saint Domingue moved its headquarters from the old port of Cap Francais (now Cap Haitien) to a planned capital to be known as Port au Prince. The new town was laid out on a gridiron plan, but the colonists prevented the completion of a central piazza by insisting that the church should be located near their homes. North of the central artery, still known as "Rue Pavée" the land was held by the church but the trade shops and business houses were also built along Grand Rue (Main Street) and there were substantial private homes on Bel Air Hill. South of Rue Pavée, the government owned the land and its buildings bordered a huge parade ground known as "Champ de Mars". In 1770, following an earthquake, the erection of stone houses was forbidden, so that the town failed to develop a dignified appearance, but by the end of French rule, it contained 900 houses, holding 6,800 inhabitants, 1,800 of them Europeans<sup>a</sup>.

In 1889, at the end of an eventful century, Port au Prince had 8,000 houses and 60,000 inhabitants, all of whom lived within the limits of the colonial town (14). Expansion started around that time, as the well-to-do began building residences along the roads which radiated across the hills, south-east of the town. A steady influx from the provinces raised the population up to 75,000 around 1905 (17). The first World War and the American occupation produced a greater concentration of national activities in the capital city, and between 1921 and 1943 8,000 houses were built, thus bringing the number of dwellings to 15,000 (11). By 1930, the population had grown to an estimated 125,000, and in 1956 the figure was 175,000, living in 20,000 houses. The only local census, taken in 1949, reported 142,208 inhabitants in the municipal area, of whom 119,270 lived in the city (3).

Since 1925, the area of Port au Prince as constituted by law, now

<sup>a</sup>Standard work by Moreau de Saint Méry (8). Details on housing available in (9).



covers some 6.7 square miles, an area seven times as great as that of the old colonial town. North of Rue Pavée, 60 per cent of the buildings of the old town are today used for business purposes; south of the Rue Pavée the ratio falls to 20 per cent, but even this is higher than in any other part of the town. Port au Prince has grown in half-circles around that business district, in so far as the physical factors permit.

Lacking superior data, we may use the legitimacy rate as an index of increasing urbanization since townfolk of long standing enter into marriage contracts more than do Haitian country folk<sup>a</sup>. These data are summarized in Table I.

### *Sociological Background*

Port au Prince displays most of the traits which characterize Latin American cities, whatever their population composition<sup>b</sup>. Demographically, its racial differentiation complexity exceeds that of the countryside, its birth rate is high and females constitute the majority of the city population (see Table II). However, statistics have to be used with caution. For instance, 1,559 of the 11,133 Catholic baptisms performed in Port au Prince in 1956 took place in hospitals, and the parents may have come from anywhere in the Western department of the Republic. Such factors reduce the utility of the official estimates of the birth rate of 9.53 per cent recorded for Port au Prince (2).

Topographically, many Latin American cities, planned to begin with, have grown without becoming nucleated as highly as North American cities. In Port au Prince, however, suburban development started at a much earlier date than that recorded for most other places.

As is the case in other American countries, foreigners were absorbed more easily into the privileged classes than were countryfolk. The economic development which took place after the first World War actually widened the gap between the two native groups of the population by giving to the privileged an opportunity to monopolize new opportunities of technical and clerical employment. The second World War was accompanied by sufficient industrialization to forestall such a monopoly.

This paper incorporates the following pieces of research. In 1938 Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain conducted an enquiry into the leisure activities of school children (6). In 1950 two Haitian observers filled out a questionnaire circulated by the Pan American Union. In their answers they delineated a middle class group of approximately 5,375 persons, earning between 150 and 1,000 gourdes monthly<sup>c</sup>. With an estimated average of 6 dependents each, this class accounted for 25 per cent of the city's population (12). In that year J.

<sup>a</sup>Data from 1889 from Rouzier (14), for 1950 from personal enquiry at the archbishopric, for other three years from Bulletin Statistique (1). It should be noted that the Port-au-Prince parishes are territorial divisions of the Roman Catholic archbishopric, without relations to any political unit.

<sup>b</sup>See for instance (4).

<sup>c</sup>1 gourde equals ₣20.



Comhaire also investigated religious practices in Port au Prince and compared them with similar data collected in Leopoldville and Lagos (5). In 1957, Father Martin, a French Dominican priest, made a field study of Port au Prince (10). He delineated four social classes, on the basis of five criteria, namely, educational background, population density of census tracts, number of rooms in the family house, yearly income of the family head, and assessment of the homestead. Of an urban population of 119,000, 6 per cent were classified as upper class, 16 per cent as middle class, 24 per cent as working class. The remaining 54 per cent were described by Father Martin as an unclassifiable "sub-proletariat". Father Martin was also responsible for the first maps showing the ecological implications of the 1949 census data.

Father Martin's work had a practical purpose. He was a member of a group of French Catholic scholars seeking an answer to the religious problems of towns from sociology. Social class, according to this school of thought, is an empirical concept. No criterion for defining class is ruled out in advance; all are acceptable provided their combination operates in a constant way to discriminate large groups in the local society. However, as these French scholars usually work in a racially homogeneous society, such factors as colour, psychology or culture tend to receive insufficient consideration in their analysis. Up to now most visitors who have studied the Haitian scene have been Americans; and they have described the local society as split by two cultures\*. This general insistence on the cultural cleavage between the two strata of Haitian society has made it appear the only important factor of social differentiation in the country. Perhaps Father Martin's unfamiliarity with this trend in scholarship helped him to produce a less over-simplified picture of Haitian society.

Table III summarizes Father Martin's conclusions about the social classes of Port au Prince, with some revisions regarding rentals and educational levels among his classes. His general picture of the situation was correct, and provides a sound basis for the study of stratification in the Haitian capital. Our enquiries confirmed the framework of his more general study. We would only insist on using impersonal references such as letters or numbers to describe the social classes. The word "sub-proletariat", in particular, is objectionable because of its implicit value judgements. In Haiti, as in other under-developed countries, large numbers of people lack a regular cash income and other prerequisites for participating fully in a society whose official norms are those of Western civilization. In consequence these masses adhere to standards rejected by the upper classes; but this is not necessarily a mark of inferiority. As for the future, we cannot assume that the urbanization of such populations will follow the same course as European or North American urbanization.

#### *Inner Belt and Class IV*

The districts of Port au Prince with a density of over 35,000 per square kilometre (141 per acre) include 49.35 per cent of the population; and the

\*See on this point Smith (15).

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rest of Class IV inhabit other quarters in some menial capacity, often as servants. The northern half of the inner belt consists of the northern part of the old city, near the business district. It includes Bel Air Hill and the Cathedral, and a stretch of alluvial ground known as La Saline, recently reclaimed from the sea. This area has a great variety of types of housing, ranging from a belt of old houses, sub-divided into apartments, around the Cathedral which has peak density of 71,000 per square kilometre, to shelters of the most primitive kind near the seashore. At Bel Air, little houses are packed within the blocks of the old colonial town. For religious purposes, this area, except for the immediate neighbourhood of the Cathedral, is part of Saint Joseph's parish, which records 6,000 practising Catholics (15.5 per cent) and 3,050 school children, in a population of 39,000. There are 47 known *humfo* (Vodun shrines) at Bel Air alone.

The southern part of the inner belt includes the southern half of the colonial town, known either as "Morne à Tuf" (Tuff Hill), or as "Bourg Anglais" (English Town) after the American and Jamaican immigrants, who settled there in the 1820's. Less varied in its housing types than the northern half, Morne à Tuf displays an extreme social heterogeneity, as shown by its 7 Protestant churches, 40 *humfo* and 10 cheap night clubs, heralding the red light district to the south west. All four masonic lodges of Port au Prince are also located there, the legacy of better days. The parish books of Saint Anne's record 12,800 school children and 8,000 practising Catholics in a total of 42,000 souls (19 per cent). The Protestants of Port au Prince who number perhaps 12,000 are spread all over the city.

A questionnaire study of 2,721 residents at La Saline (13) revealed the population as proud but poor and illiterate, with a preference for "common-law marriages" (*plaçages*), and a large ratio of homeowners, most houses being poor frame constructions. There is almost no immigration into this group and 95.1 per cent of the residents were born at La Saline itself or in the immediate vicinity. Women are in a slight majority. However men in regular employment outnumber women, and three-fourths of the women give trading as their occupation. Self-employment is common for both sexes. Strong African, though not necessarily pagan influences, are noticeable in their entertainment at masquerades, wakes and dances, and in the Creole language which is almost exclusively used in this area (16, 7).

### *Class III Zone*

The population of districts with a density between 20,000 and 35,000 per square kilometre is identical with the size of Class III (24 per cent of the urban population), but this unit contains several separate areas. Outside the series of concentric belts, which characterizes the predominantly residential districts, the downtown commercial centre has a population of shopkeepers and craftsmen who mostly live on the premises where they conduct their business. Next comes the zone of maximum density, and then the residential districts of Class III which start with Poste Marchand, north of Champ de

Mars. Beyond it, the original city had very few streets; and since then little houses have sprung up haphazardly among individual plots protected by cactus hedges which give the district a West African appearance. In 1951, a workers settlement known as Cité No. 1 was built at the extreme north of this belt. South of Champ de Mars lay the districts which today are expanding most rapidly. The best known quarter there is named Bolosse. Its streets are laid out regularly, but not on a strict gridiron plan.

This belt has not enough administrative or ecclesiastical unity to be easily described by statistics. However, the Cathedral parish, which includes both Poste Marchand and most of the commercial district, records 12,800 school children and 12,000 practising parishioners who represent 33 per cent of the parish population of 36,000. The school population in this parish is swollen by well-to-do children who attend downtown schools of old standing, but the rate of religious adherence is likely to reflect typical Class III attitudes. Most of the southern area is included within Saint Gerard's parish, in which 2,000 parishioners recorded as practising Catholics are 20 per cent of the parish total, and there are also 2,000 school children. For the first time in this study we find a marked difference between the rates of religious practice and legitimacy, the latter being 46 per cent for the parish. This difference is largely due to the fact that the parish is run by Belgian priests with exacting views on both subjects; but it is also true that many of the leading members of Class III who live in this parish, display anticlerical views, and regard marriage as more important than church attendance.

The population of these districts also forms a distinct economic and occupational group. In 1949 Port au Prince had 24,793 workers who received monthly wages of between 100 and 200 gourdes. Although these wages are low, the fact that those who earn them enjoy permanent employment distinguishes them sharply from the Class IV people, who lead a hand-to-mouth existence. Such employment is mostly industrial, and is provided by the food processing plants (4,589 workers), the hotels (3,224), the workshops (1,266), or industrial crafts (865). The other workers receiving similar wages probably included 807 State employees, 805 teachers and 803 retail trade staff, all of whom were more likely to belong to Class II than to Class III.

Class III people are a heterogeneous but self-conscious group. One of their outstanding characteristics is the extreme care which they take with the education of their children. Children of this class are kept regularly at school for the duration of the official six-year curriculum. They usually start school at six but many go to school before this, some at four years of age; and many also are kept in school beyond the normal leaving age of twelve. The children's work is often subject to close supervision at home. The entertainment habits of this class are also quite characteristic. These people are the best patrons of the stadium, which is located near their homes, and at which an average 3,070 spectators attended each of the 60 football matches held in 1955. However, Poste Marchand has 13 *humfo* and 2 Protestant churches,

while Bolosse has 8 *humfo* and 3 Protestant churches. The presence of these *humfo*, together with the widespread use of the Creole language, explains why observers who accept the cultural conflict theory have generally lumped Class III together with Class IV in one single cultural group. As regards language, all or almost all members of Class III speak French fluently, but they display a distinct preference for Creole at home and at work.

An investigation at Cité No. 1, conducted and published on the same occasion as that at La Saline (13) showed clearly in what ways the standards of Class III are higher than those of Class IV. The Cité is a State-built and State-owned settlement, with a lower ratio of child mortality than La Saline. Many Cité couples are legally married and almost all are literates. The women are a slight majority in total numbers and they form a large majority of the locally employed. Self-employment is here an exception and a high rate of mobility is observable since the Cité attracts people from all over Port au Prince, though few from elsewhere. Our enquiries among school girls showed that families of similar type living outside the Cité may be on average larger than the size indicated in Table IV, the average of those households, with families having children at school, containing 4 children and 4 adults. The same enquiry revealed that this section of the population nourished definite though by no means unreasonable ambitions for their offspring. On the whole, this is the most vigorous of all social classes in Port au Prince, the one likely to progress most rapidly in the near future. During the presidential campaign of 1956-1957, these people kept themselves informed of all developments through radio sets, around which friends would gather in large numbers. A minority in the nation as well as in the capital city, they won the day for Dr. Francois Duvalier, their favourite candidate for the presidency. This was partly due to their prestige with the peasantry, as in the small country towns almost all officials, both civil and military, and traders, seem to belong to this class<sup>a</sup>.

#### *Class II Zone*

Perhaps 16 per cent of the Port au Prince population belong to Class II. Class II is almost identical in numbers with the population of those districts which have a density between 10,000 and 19,000 persons per square kilometre. These districts include 16.97 per cent of the urban population. In part, Class II consists of the least successful branches of prominent families, whose main ambition is to catch up with their wealthy relatives. In recent years, this group has grown through the influx of provincial aristocrats whose means are insufficient to meet the Port au Prince cost of living, and who display a high degree of parochialism in their social behaviour. Many households also contain families of humble origins, who have won some public recognition after one or two generations. Men of such families may still marry women of lower social groups, but they will seek mates of some wealth and education,

<sup>a</sup>Our observations at Kenscoff in 1956-1957 reveal the sharp contrast between these conditions in 1957 and 1936-1939.

and they expect their mate to sever kinship ties with their family of origin. This is the "middle class" of the Pan American Union enquiry, to which much of the upper class was added for good measure (12). Most of these people live on the lower slopes of hills formerly settled by aristocrats. They also occupy the settlement of Cité No. 2, which is located a little farther away from the city centre than Cité No. 1.

There are few, if any members of this class in St. Joseph's and St. Anne's parishes, but they are the majority at Sacred Heart, a parish of 12,000 which has the highest rate of religious adherence (80 per cent) and legitimacy (60 per cent), in the city. None the less the legitimacy rate is noticeably lower than that of church membership. Most of the 6,600 school children registered in this area are likely to come from Class II homes, since the old and fashionable boys' schools of this class have remained in the downtown districts where they were established long ago. Members of this class are the backbone of conservative Catholicism in Port au Prince. Neither *humfo*, nor Protestant churches are found within their area. Carnival masquerades are frowned upon, and even wakes for the dead are only held after hesitation. The scarcity of money unfortunately prevents a full use of other entertainment opportunities, such as reading and the movies. During 1956, the seven theatres in town registered an average daily attendance of 450, at 2 gourdes a seat.

In terms of income, the State is the great provider for Class II. Of the 6,370 urban employees who earn between 200 and 700 gourdes 1,982 are in State service, 1,274 are working for big import and export houses, and 750 in retail trade, 805 are teachers and 321 are clergymen. We have seen how the rest of Class II is likely to be even more poorly paid. Our enquiry among schoolgirls revealed a pattern of clear but moderate ambitions. Households are larger than in Class III, averaging 4 adults and 5 children, but the fifth child is usually a servant.

#### *Outer Belt and Class I*

In the three classes already described, there is a close connection between economic level and social class position. Class I presents a wider range of variation in this respect, since it includes besides the *elite*, an "aristocracy" founded on ancestry and manners, a second sub-class consisting of those of humbler ancestry who have achieved some measure of financial or political success. Both these sub-classes had their share in settling the hills south east of Champ de Mars but the impoverished members of the *elite* today are more likely to remain there than are the well-to-do *nouveaux riches* who keep moving to more distant suburbs. Family property is common at this level and many children build new houses next to the parental mansion.

The districts of low density in Port au Prince include 9.7 per cent of the urban population; but no more than 6 per cent of the townsfolk can be recorded as upper class. The rest consists mostly of servants and other members of Class IV living outside their own densely-populated wards. As an econo-



mic group, only 3,145 persons of this class (3.93 per cent of the urban population) report incomes over 700 gourdes. They depend largely on the State (571), but also on the retail trade (526), on banking and general business (517), on book- and tourist-shops (357). All the 248 lawyers in town, but only 151 out of 211 physicians, also report monthly incomes over 700 gourdes; some doctors are certainly understating their income. Up to now university studies remain the most effective way of securing a high income in Haiti. Several successful lawyers come from Class III families, and some come from Class IV, since law classes may be taken after working hours; but medicine and engineering are beyond the range of students who must work for their living.

Class I is less religious than Class II, but this can hardly be reduced to statistics. There are a few *elite* families of old Protestant stock, and there are successful Protestants of foreign origin, all alike opposed to the sects favoured by the lower classes. Some families of Jewish origin came from Curacao and still bear well-known Sephardic names, such as Henriquez, Leon, Cardozo, D'Meza, but these have all become Catholic through inter-marriage. As regards entertainment, the upper economic group monopolizes expensive suburban country clubs and shares night clubs with American tourists. Motor cars remained an upper-class luxury until as late as 1950, when only 3,046 motor vehicles of all kinds were in use in Haiti; but since then cheaper European cars have become available to a larger section of the population.

### Conclusions

Considering such factors as occupation, income, housing, education, family composition, ancestry, religion, entertainment, transport, language and perhaps political attitudes also, four distinct classes can be distinguished in Port au Prince, with housing the most conspicuous index. The use of classical Western names to describe these classes leads to confusion and it is therefore wiser to denote them by numbers.

The huge gap between the *elite* and Class IV has led most observers of the Haitian scene to conclude that the cleavage was of a cultural nature. The pattern of subordination seemed rigid, and it was not entirely exempt from colour associations, so that the name of caste was given to what was really social class.<sup>a</sup> However these issues are far from settled; and although available statistics offer little material for the study of social change, they indicate that many citizens of Port au Prince belong neither to the *elite* nor to Class IV; and that the group we once described as "the people's elite", and referred to here as Class III, has made much greater progress in recent years than Class II.

Long ago there were few craftsmen and other skilled workers, and these were easily absorbed by the upper classes through inter-marriage. An educational reform of the 1920's was probably the main factor which enabled so many people to acquire the skills which found application in the wave of

<sup>a</sup>On this point see Smith (15).



industrialization which followed the second World War. These people must now be recognized as a separate class which has come to stay.

TABLE 1. PORT AU PRINCE, CATHOLIC BAPTISMS AND LEGITIMACY RATES

Parish	1889	1923	1933	1943	1950
St. Joseph's, No.	402	693	620	479	700
% legitimate	11.5	8.2	8.5	4.7	15.0
St. Anne's, No.	1,150	1,290	1,075	1,031	1,200
% legitimate	10.5	4.9	14.0	14.0	14.0
Cathedral, No.	671	655	654	711	1,400
% legitimate	26.0	20.2	31.0	32.7	35.0
Sacred Heart, No.			266	312	700
% legitimate			42.8	49.8	60.0
St. Gerard's, No.					600
% legitimate					46.0
Total No.	1,880	2,638	3,399	3,474	4,600
% legitimate	18.0	13.0	19.5	29.0	30.0

TABLE II. PORT AU PRINCE, 1949, CENSUS POPULATION IN '000s

Status	Men	Women	Totals
Under 15	21.4	24.0	45.4
Single adults	22.1	40.0	62.1
Married	10.3	10.3	20.6
In common law unions	7.0	7.0	14.0
Total	60.8	81.3	142.1

TABLE III. PORT AU PRINCE, SOCIAL CLASSES<sup>a</sup>

	I	II	III	IV
% of population	6	16	24	54
Monthly income, in gourdes	over 700	200-1,000	circa 150	irregular
Density per square kilometers	4,000-9,999	10,000-19,999	20,000-34,999	35,000-71,000
Rooms per household	over 6	3-5	1-3	1
Monthly rental, in gourdes	150+	75-150	20-60	10 or less
Education	Secondary and higher	3rd to 6th and higher	Preparatory to sixth	No grades completed

<sup>a</sup> Summary of Father Martin's criteria and conclusions.

TABLE IV. TWO PORT AU PRINCE DISTRICTS COMPARED

	La Saline	Cité I
Total population	2,721	979
% under 5	11.17	15.5
% women	52.0	56.9
% married	4.3	39.0
% in common law unions	57.9	11.0
% single	35.9	43.5
% illiterate over 5	88.4	9.8
Households	713	181
Average no. per household	3.41	5.4
Housing units	740	181
Average no. of rooms	1.28	3
% homeowners	40.0	0
Active male workers	519	144
Active female workers	426	202
Unemployed males	361	8
Unemployed females	233	46
% self employed	60.6	27.42
Housewives	245	107

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# Definitions of a Farm and a Farmer in Agricultural Statistics in the West Indies\*

By

G. E. HODNETT AND W. R. E. NANTON

## Introduction

If reliable statistics are to be collected and if they are to be effectively used, it is necessary to have as exact definitions of the various items as possible. In the island territories comprising the West Indies, there is also the need for uniformity of definition in order to ensure comparability of the statistics. Two of the fundamental items of interest in agricultural statistics are the farm and the farmer, and in view of the complex situation in farming in the West Indies, suitable and unambiguous definitions of these terms are clearly required.

Apart from the 1946 Census of Agriculture (1), previous work in agricultural statistics in British Caribbean territories has been confined to Jamaica (2), Trinidad (3) and British Guiana (4, 5, 6). In the interests of uniformity and comparability, it is of some importance to examine the definitions of a farm and a farmer which have been used and to elucidate the problem of reconciling data collected, using these different sets of definitions. In this paper new definitions are also included which have been tested in the collection of agricultural statistics in islands in the Eastern Caribbean (7) in preparation for a full agricultural census in 1961. In addition to their intrinsic interest, the definitions may be of use to others concerned with associated (e.g. economic) studies of conditions in the agricultural communities of the region.

## The situation in farming in the West Indies

The 1946 Census of Agriculture (1) shows that while considerable areas of the islands of the West Indies are occupied by large estates, there are numerous small occupiers or peasants. The large estates generally consist of single tracts of land, whereas fragmentation is a common feature of the smaller peasant holdings, although in some places companies or syndicates run groups of estates. Except in the case of larger farms, identification of individual farms on the ground or from maps or photographs is usually quite impossible, and in many places farm operators do not reside on their farms but in a neighbouring town or village.

Although a large proportion of small holdings are owned by their operators,

\*The West Indies Federation, formerly the British West Indies.

the terms of occupation of the parcels comprising many of them are often ill-defined, varying from squatting to formal agreements for payment of the use of land in kind or in cash. Parcels of land so let out belong to holdings of all sizes.

The agricultural operations of these various units are frequently in the hands of a number of persons with varying degrees of authority, more than one of whom may claim to be the operator of the same land. In some places there is the problem of the undivided inheritance of land leading to the possibility of multiple claims, or, perhaps, no claim at all. Persons who may claim to be farmers include owners, part-owners, tenants, lessees, attorneys, trustees, executors and visiting or resident managers. Furthermore, such individuals may have interests in more than one distinct farm.

Some livestock are kept in all the islands but there are few herds. Owners of livestock do not always tend them themselves nor do they always graze them on their own land. Grazing on a neighbouring estate, some communal or government land or by the roadside are common practices, especially among the peasants.

### *Definitions*

In this paper we are concerned with entire farms and not merely with the individual parcels of land of which they may consist. A parcel is defined as a continuous piece of land held under one form of tenure, irrespective of the number of fields or plots it may contain. Thus, a farm comprising a parcel of land owned and an adjacent parcel tenanted would consist of two parcels. The definitions of a farm and a farmer which have been used in previous agricultural census and survey work in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana are given in Table 1, together with those used in the series of surveys in the Eastern Caribbean.

In Jamaica the person bearing the financial risk of the farming enterprise (the entrepreneur) is taken as the farmer and his farm is all the land which he occupies for agricultural purposes. This person does not necessarily farm the land or "operate" the farm himself, but he is usually the legal occupier of the land. The farm may thus be regarded as defined on the basis of the legal occupancy by the entrepreneur of the parcels of land comprising the farm, while the economic or financial aspects of the agricultural operations are associated with the farmer. Such definitions are appropriate for economic studies of farming such as farm finance, credit, marketing, etc.

Associated with these definitions is the classification of farms as owner-occupied or tenant-occupied. (For simplicity "tenant" is used here in a wide sense to cover all forms of occupancy other than ownership). This classification applies strictly only to parcels and not to entire farms since some parcels comprising a farm may be owned while others are tenanted; but it can be readily extended to cover entire farms by introducing a category "part-owned, part-tenanted". Under these definitions a manager cannot be accepted as a

TABLE 1. DEFINITIONS OF A FARM AND A FARMER IN USE IN BRITISH CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES

<i>Farm</i>	<i>Farmer</i>
<b>JAMAICA</b>	
All land occupied by one operator (owner, attorney* or tenant) for agricultural purposes within a given parish, irrespective of the terms of occupation and of the number of parcels of which it is composed.	The person financially responsible for the operation of the farm, who makes the profits directly resulting from the farming operations. (Owner, tenant, free occupant (squatter or otherwise) <i>not</i> a headman, overseer or manager).
* When owner permanently resides off the island.	
<b>TRINIDAD (3)</b>	
All areas of land occupied by a farm operator which are used in part or wholly for planting crops and/or the raising of livestock including poultry. A farm may consist of one parcel or several parcels of land.	The person <i>in charge</i> of a farm i.e. who makes <i>all</i> or most of the decisions concerning the day-to-day operations. This person may be the owner, tenant or a manager.
<b>BRITISH GUIANA (6)</b>	
All tracts of land totalling over one acre and operated for agricultural purposes. The farm could be managed by one or more persons, owned, rented or leased. Land owned, but rented to others is no part of the farm unit.	The person (or one of a group) concerned with the day-to-day operations of the farm business.
<b>EASTERN CARIBBEAN (7)</b>	
One or more parcels of land held (owned, leased, rented or otherwise occupied) by one person or an association of persons (including partnerships, companies, syndicates, corporations etc.), used wholly or in part for agricultural purposes and operated as a single business unit. Any part of such a holding which is let or rented to other persons is not included.	The person who has maximum responsibility for and is most closely associated with the day-to-day operations on a particular farm. This person may operate the farm on his own account or he may manage it for some other person or persons.

farmer because he does not bear the financial risks and he has no claim to the land. (In some respects, however, the functions of an attorney are similar to those of a manager.) On the other hand with the definitions used in the other territories managers are recognized as farmers. This difference arises because in the latter territories the *operator* of the farm is taken to be the farmer and the farm is conceived as the economic unit of operation, the emphasis being placed on the agricultural and business activities carried out on the land rather than on the form of occupancy of the land.

a Since this paper was prepared the definitions proposed by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations for use in the World Census of Agriculture in 1960 have become available. In these definitions the operator of a farm is taken as the farmer rather than the entrepreneur (see text), while the definition of a parcel is *irrespective* of tenure. The Eastern Caribbean definition of a parcel can thus be brought into line if a question is asked with regard to contiguity of parcels under different forms of tenure.

The definition of a farmer in Trinidad involves a classification of farmers into owners, tenants or managers. This classification, while indicating the status of the farmer, is, however, a mixed one, for it is partly on the basis of form of tenure (owners, tenants) and partly according to mode of operation (whether by a manager or directly by the farmer). Thus when it is applied to farms (as in British Guiana) it is not entirely satisfactory, since, for example, some owners may employ managers while managed farms may consist of parcels of land, some of which are owned and some rented. This difficulty can be resolved by classifying the farmers into two groups only, according to the mode of operation of the farm — those who farm on their own account, i.e. as entrepreneurs (owners, tenants) and those who farm for others (managers). This two-fold classification is logically associated with the definition of a farmer as the operator of a farm.

A complete analysis will involve both types of classification, giving a two-way breakdown by form of tenure (by the entrepreneur) and by mode of operation as in Table 2. Whichever classification is implied in the definitions used, additional information can be obtained to provide the other breakdown. Thus, providing information on mode of operation is collected in Jamaica and form of tenure is taken with reference to the entrepreneur elsewhere, reconciliation will be accomplished.

TABLE 2. CLASSIFICATION OF FARMS BY FORM OF TENURE AND MODE OF OPERATION

Mode of Operation	Tenure of farm (by the entrepreneur)		
	Owned	Tenanted	Part-owned, part-tenanted
Own account			
Managed			

In the Eastern Caribbean the definition of a farm (Table 1) introduces the classification by form of tenure while that of a farmer as the operator includes the associated two-fold classification, so that both classifications are clearly recognized. These definitions were framed primarily for census enumeration and the collection of data by sample surveys (7). In census work, duplication or omission of units must be avoided. It is therefore essential that a farm should be readily identified in the field and that the operator of it should be unambiguously recognized. The definitions proved efficient in use in the field under local conditions because they were readily comprehended and applied by the enumerators (as they agree closely with common usage of the terms) and the work could be easily checked. It was also advantageous to admit managers as farmers, for the farmer was then more easily and surely determined in cases where one person operated (managed) a farm on behalf of



a group of persons, and, moreover, the manager was usually the person able to supply the information required in the survey (e.g. on acreages and production of crops). Most farmers, however, worked on their own account. These definitions are also suitable for the analysis of this type of data and for farm management studies.

In these surveys persons were interviewed in order to compile a list of farms and their operators. Although most of the cases in practice were quite straightforward, and there was no difficulty whatsoever in deciding what constituted a farm and who was its operator, there were cases where the person being interviewed had some control over a farm but could not be said immediately to be the operator. Decisions in such cases were based on the nature and frequency of the instructions given and/or received. Enumerators were trained in the use of a definite sequence of questions.

Sharecropping was a special case which could give rise to some difficulty in deciding who was the farmer. If the arrangement was such that the person interviewed had control of the day-to-day operations and only received directions from another with regard to general policy, then he was regarded as a farm operator who paid his rent in kind. If, however, this person was closely supervised then he was not taken as a farm operator; he was really a labourer who received his wages in kind (on a kind of 'payment by results' or 'profit sharing' basis). A sharecropper of either type could, however, be the operator of other land.

Farms which may belong to the same person or group of persons (e.g. a group of estates owned by one person or a company) were considered as separate units if and only if separate sets of books were kept for them. This separation into business units seems to be rather more realistic than that on the basis of location within a given parish, as used in Jamaica. In either case, in practice, the effect will be similar and mostly confined to the larger size groups of farms. The restriction of a farm to a given parish, however, does serve to ensure that the data collected refer to that parish only. Under the Eastern Caribbean definitions, while it is unlikely that a farmer will reside far from the farm he operates, there could be some slight distortion of the various items (crops, acreages, production, etc.) The difficulty can be completely solved by recording the information separately for each parcel of land.

In the recent surveys (7), for a holding to be considered as "being used for agricultural purposes" it must have had associated with it during the past year, at least one head of cattle, or two head of pigs, sheep or goats (or one head of any two), or a flock of at least 12 chickens (fowls), or 10 or more bearing trees of any tree crop, bananas or plantains, or 1/8 acre (20 poles) of any vegetables, ground provisions, food or cash crop. These minimum requirements may be varied from survey to survey without seriously affecting the definition of a farm, since, in general, an increase in the minimum requirements will be equivalent to omitting the smallest classification from

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the scope of the survey. In British Guiana holdings of less than one acre from which the gross value of agricultural production in the previous year exceeded \$100, were also classed as farms; but at the present time it appears to be preferable to specify the lower limit of a farm in physical terms rather than on the basis of cash turnover.

The enumeration of livestock under local conditions presents its own problems. Since cattle are moveable items it is difficult to associate them with the farms; it is more convenient to associate them with the farmers. Consequently, in order to avoid possible double counting or omission of livestock, it was found convenient in the surveys in the Eastern Caribbean to define a "manager of livestock." A farmer *manages* livestock if he is in charge of the day-to-day tending of animals (i.e. feeding, watering, grooming, housing, milking, etc.,) whether these operations are carried out by the farmer personally or by persons under his day-to-day instructions. The livestock managed by the farmer need not be his own, nor need they be kept on the farm he operates. Thus if a farmer managed any cattle (whether his own or another's) they would form part of his farming business and activities, but if cattle which he owned were managed by someone else, then they would not be regarded as a part of his farm. This definition also covers the case of a person engaged in management of cattle but who holds no land on which to keep them. Such a person may be regarded as a farmer who may be said to operate a "landless farm" (or a farm of a nominal very small acreage.) For example, if the manager of an estate also managed some cattle of his own (kept on the estate or elsewhere) he would be the manager of one farm (for others) and also the operator of a "landless" farm for his own account. It is necessary to enumerate "landless" farms separately in order to avoid inflating the number of farms recorded relative to the areas of land in farms.

### Summary

The definitions of a farm and a farmer used in agricultural statistics in the West Indies have been examined and discussed together with the problem of reconciling the statistics obtained. The problems associated with sharecropping and the enumeration of livestock have been briefly considered.

### Acknowledgements

We should like to thank the members of the Agricultural Statistics Committee of the Advisory Council on Agriculture, Animal Health and Husbandry, Forestry and Fisheries for their assistance in this work and for permission to publish this paper. The surveys and investigations conducted in the Eastern Caribbean were financed under Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme D.2878.

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## REVIEW ARTICLE

### DEVELOPMENT FOR EVERYMAN<sup>a</sup>

By

PETER NEWMAN

"Development", Sydney Olivier once remarked, "is a generous word . . . . full of agreeable labial consonants". Certainly economists are finding it so, and with good reason. Economic theory has become too complicated to sustain that fierce ardour with which they used to embrace free trade and trust-busting, while even Keynesian economics has lost its first fresh simplicity. A world in which tariffs are theoretically respectable (even with retaliation), Schumpeterian monopolists are innovating all over the place, and prices edge steadily upwards in company with the unemployment rate, is no home for the frustrated idealist concealed in most economists' bosoms.

Into this difficult and uncertain world, the challenge of the poor countries has been welcomed with enthusiasm and a becoming seriousness. It appeals alike to one's heart and one's head, and is, moreover, profitable. Some degree of competence in the field is relatively easy to attain, and usually means world travel on a scale comparable with that of Mr. Macmillan. The economist goes around the world in the eighty-day summer vacation, writing reports as he goes, after a week in each country. It is common these days, at gatherings of professional economists, to hear sophisticated reminiscences, worthy of Cole Porter, about journeys to and from the ends of the earth.

It is natural that a desire for instruction in this new area of economic interest should arise, even though no complete theoretical structure has been built, and even though important results are, as yet, few and far between. The subject is in just that solution of intuition, analysis and political bias that has marked the early stages of most of the growing points in economic analysis, since at least Physiocratic times. Concealed in this ferment is a good deal of nonsense and— even worse— of platitudes dressed up to look like ideas, but it will eventually settle down into a coherent body of doctrine. However, it does make life very difficult for the textbook writer. The show must go on, students have to be taught, and given the conditions prevailing in many universities, this means that textbooks have somehow to be written. But how? Lacking an existing body of appropriate doctrine, is the textbook writer to bring a particular doctrine, developed in some other field, to bear

<sup>a</sup>A review article of Bauer (P.T.) and Yamey (B.S.): *The Economics of Under-developed Countries*, London; Nisbet and the Cambridge University Press, 1957, Pp. xiii + 271. 10s. 6d.; and Meier (G.M.) and Baldwin (R. E.): *Economic Development. Theory, History, Policy*. New York; John Wiley (London; Chapman and Hall), 1957, Pp. xix + 588, 68s. (in U.K.).

on the subject? Or is he to become a latter-day encyclopaedist, "viewing economic development as the grand theme of economic thought and economic history" (to quote the blurb of *Economic Development*), and throwing in everything, kitchen sink, bathwater, baby and all? The two books under review are good examples of these two different approaches.

It is convenient to take Messrs. Bauer and Yamey's work first. This is the latest addition to the Cambridge Economic Handbook series, and with it the editorship of the series is extended from Cambridge to include Chicago as well, in the person of Professor Milton Friedman. With this book also, the benevolent figures of Marshall, Pigou and Keynes, always lurking in the background of the other Cambridge books, although never authors, give way to the influence of Hayek, Simons and the Continental liberal school. That very English brand of pragmatic gradualism — however dressed up as the "economics of welfare" — that came naturally to those great men, is replaced by a sweeping application of the doctrine that, given monetary stability, the untrammelled working of the freely competitive system will cure most economic ills. This doctrine of economic individualism has been vigorously applied to advanced economies by Hayek, Ropke, and several others, including Friedman himself. Now this book has it wrestling with the economic problems of the poor countries. It is an interesting and unconvincing spectacle.

The authors explicitly disclaim any attempt to present a theory of development. In Part I of their book, which occupies about three-fifths of the whole, it is their purpose only "to illumine certain features of the economic landscape of the under-developed world", the topics treated being "selected partly with an eye to their susceptibility to economic analysis and partly for their general interest" (p. 13). In the remaining Part II they consider the role of government in promoting economic development.

Part I is, on the whole, fairly well done in a low-keyed way. The authors first discuss some problems of measurement of the national income and capital in poor countries, as well as of employment and the labour force. They are concerned to point out difficulties, rather than to give or to do any actual measurements. Quite deliberately, statistics are used very sparingly throughout, since "many of the most significant features of economic life in under-developed countries and many of the influences conditioning economic growth are not susceptible to meaningful measurement or numerical expression" (p. 14) which is a remarkable statement when many is interpreted to mean 'most', as it apparently is here.

Most of the points that they make about these difficulties of measurement are not new, but it is useful to have them compactly stated. Some of the points seem mere quibbles, and even when they do have a substantial and reasonably novel point, as in emphasising the importance of 'subsistence' agricultural investment, which often eludes the capital formation statistics, they miss some of the necessary qualifications (in this case, the

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very high rate of physical depreciation usual on such investment). In these early chapters there is a slight tendency, which gets much stronger in Part II, to fall into the error indicated by Jevons in his well-known dictum: "It is always to be remembered that the failure of an argument in favour of a proposition does not, generally speaking, add much, if any probability, to the contradictory proposition". Too often the authors bring forward objections to a measurement or a theoretical point, which do indeed show that it is not as clear as it appears, but then proceed to argue as though it had been rendered completely nugatory by their arguments.

They are sensible on natural resources, and have some interesting things to say about the economics of human resources, by which they mean such things as population, unemployment, wages and entrepreneurship. But much of the discussion seems rather slight, in the nature of marginal notes, and some of it is unconvincing.<sup>a</sup> The landscape is only gently illumined, and several areas are left altogether dark, especially by contrast. Here and throughout the book, the authors' familiarity with several poor countries lends an immediacy to their discussion which should be valuable for students not so familiar, especially as they embellish their own examples with quotations from the recorded experiences of sociologists,<sup>b</sup> anthropologists, travel writers and journalists, though rather seldom of other economists. Sometimes they do not prevent these examples from falling into rather tedious anecdotes of the when-I-was-in-British-East variety, but generally they are helpful illustrations<sup>c</sup>.

The chapter on the level of capital and its utilization is innocuous, but the next, on capital and economic growth, hits out at some of the most cherished pieces of 'under-developed' theorizing, such as the capital-output ratio and the international demonstration effect. Some of their points are well taken, but some simply mistake the purpose of aggregative models. Of course a great deal of nonsense has been written about the capital-output ratio, but extremely simplified analyses of the Harrod-Domar type have thrown a good deal of light on many problems of growth. They are useful just because they are 'over-simplified'.

In Part II value judgments made their first overt appearance, and are very much what one would expect from the Hayek-Simons school, although this af-

<sup>a</sup>For example, their demonstration that the supply curve of labour is *always* upward-sloping (pp. 82-85) is no more than plausible.

<sup>b</sup>It is amusing that they frequently cite Professor Tax's study of Guatemalan Indians (*Penny Capitalism*) as an example of the strong capitalist rationalism present even among quite primitive communities, and hence imply that development is rapid in such societies, whereas Meier and Baldwin cite the same study as an example that "rational acquisitiveness . . . [is] . . . insufficient for economic development" . . . "the economy is essentially static" (p. 336, n.2).

<sup>c</sup>I especially liked the Byzantine priests (p. 40 n.1) who, although rolling in cash, had to be their own servants. The authors' citation (p. 41 n.) of Professor Ashton's example of eighteenth century English textile workers who had to do their own carrying, is not so happy. This, by itself, could indicate high wages and hence relatively low labour supply in tertiary production, which would negate their point (which is certainly usually valid) that large numbers of 'tertiary' workers are to be found in poor countries.



finity is nowhere explicitly stated. They are rather suspicious of government action: "... it should be the function of the state to widen the range of opportunities and facilitate access to them" (p. 149). They are equally suspicious of 'welfare-economic' reasoning: "General statements or propositions about discrepancies between private and social costs and benefits, while formally correct, hardly serve as worthwhile guides to policy, and are indeed so vague that they could be invoked to justify practically any action". (p. 166). Naturally they are opposed to high taxation, and put forward several arguments against it, largely in terms of its deleterious effects on incentives. But their argument here is heavily slanted by their remarkable position that "The expenditure of the proceeds of taxation for development is not susceptible to general economic analysis". (p. 195 n.), and hence, by implication, is not a good thing.

As their discussion develops, the continued carping attitude towards almost all non-Smithian activity on the part of the state becomes increasingly irritating. The most trivial arguments are brought forward against government intervention, and the many serious arguments on the other side are seldom given a thorough analysis. They can at times descend to such poor stuff as: "Those who advocate taxation for development are often not those called upon to pay for it; those who support the imposition of the burden of compulsory savings do not always share in bearing it, and quite often, in addition, are direct beneficiaries of the process." (p. 201). Many of their points are interesting, and some quite clearly valid, but these tend to get discounted in one's impatience with their general niggling attitude.

When their discussion moves on to measures affecting agriculture, the discussion becomes on the whole less tendentious, and correspondingly more valuable. Their trenchant attack on the doctrine of conservation-at-all-costs is salutary, though it is an easy target. Here again, they miss valid arguments on the other side, such as the possibility of external diseconomies of bad farming practices on other individual farmers (though they recognize this in the case of communal farming).

They are needlessly hard on industrialization. As an example of their failure to observe the Jevonian precept quoted above, consider their objections to the surplus-rural-population argument for industrialization. They argue that often 'uncultivable' land is in fact cultivable, especially as agricultural techniques progress. "Thus it is possible that the surplus rural population could be absorbed more profitably and with less expenditure of capital in the extension of agriculture than in the establishment of new industries." (p. 239). Maybe so; there must be some countries where this is true. But there are plenty of places in which it is not. My personal experience only extends to two underdeveloped areas — Ceylon and the West Indies. In both cases this argument for industrialization is *the* argument (2, 3). In both areas one runs into diminishing returns very rapidly in the expansion of the existing land area. Agricultural productivity can and must be raised, but this is unlikely to require increased labour.

Yet the authors can go on to say that such arguments "lack serious content" (p. 243), with the strong implication that they should be disregarded. They grudgingly concede that the industrial-wage-above-marginal-product-of-rural-labour argument for industrialization (which after all is only a subspecies of the previous argument) possesses "formal validity". However, "it cannot be taken as axiomatic that assistance to industry is the most economic way of handling the problem of rural unemployment; assistance to agriculture may in some circumstances yield better results." (p. 245). Of course it may; the whole problem is to know under what circumstances. The amount of emphasis accorded to this criticism compared with the total amount of space given to the actual argument, completely misrepresents the force which this point can have in many countries. Not only that; they miss some of the legitimate objections that can be raised, e.g. that by the same token, for correct social accounting the marginal private costs of at least some capital inputs, and of some inputs requiring foreign exchange, should probably be raised as the marginal private costs of hiring labour inputs are lowered.

They are against 'balanced growth', but do not go into the problem very deeply. The straw man of 'diversification' is knocked down very effectively, and they come out, naturally, against strong trade union pressure and in favour of small-scale industry. On the crucial problem of what industries should be established, they have little to say. On the hoary, but after all important, topic of labour-intensive industry *versus* efficiency, all they say is "It may seem sound to suggest that labour-intensive industries are likely to be more appropriate than capital-intensive ones; but in fact this is not helpful since labour is not homogeneous, and access to markets is obviously an important consideration." (p. 252). The problem deserves more care and attention than that.

In sum, this seems essentially a marginal book. Although there are several valuable 'insights', I was left with the strong feeling that seldom had the authors really come to grips with the problems of the poor countries, at least as they have appeared to me. There is no reference, for example, to such a massive and interesting experiment as the Indian Second Five Year Plan, nor, at the other end of the scale, to the small but no less interesting experiment of the *Fomento* programme in Puerto Rico. Perhaps this feeling is due to the fact that, although the book is ostensibly about underdeveloped countries in general, it is probably of most relevance to areas where both labour and land supplies are relatively plentiful, such as West Africa, Malaya, and Burma (it is probably no accident that most of the authors' experience has apparently been in such places). In these cases it may very well be that what is needed, at least in the short to medium run, is the removal of barriers to the free flow of factors and goods, the development of transport, and the growth of a pervasive exchange economy.<sup>a</sup> These are, indeed, their main recommendations. But it would be dangerous, without

<sup>a</sup>A suggestive treatment of this problem is to be found in Hla Myint's recent paper (4).

much further thought, to carry over such advice to countries where the underlying economic conditions are different.

The book seems to have been written in reaction against the current wave of literature on economic development, much of which is admittedly rather low-grade stuff. Its perusal will be a good corrective of the wilder excesses of that literature, which is quoted very sparingly, but the authors go too far in reaction against it. When they talk of problems susceptible of 'economic analysis', in fact they mean analysis in terms of a narrow and simplified price theory.<sup>a</sup> And this is annoying, since the counter-reaction this is likely to induce among the better students, especially those who have had personal experience in poor countries, will be to give economic theory, and particularly value theory, a bad name, which the poor ill-used thing does not deserve. It may well be that quite radical departures in many branches of economic theory are needed before we can have a good approach to the problem of development; the subject needs its General Theory. Until then, temperately used general theory can bring rewards, and even price theory alone can carry us a long way, used with good sense. This book however, by claiming too much for a relatively few existing tools, and by ignoring problems that can be attacked, if not solved, with other tools, may lead to a result opposite to that the authors desire. Theory, and especially value theory, may be brought into disrepute as a tool for the analysis of economic growth.

In a sense it is a relief to turn to Messrs. Meier and Baldwin's work, which is a textbook very much on the usual American pattern, aimed primarily at senior undergraduates and beginning graduate students. There is no lack of references here; footnotes abound, and the wide range of literature on economic development is amply covered. Occasionally one catches a whiff of the midnight oil, and the book lacks that vividness which personal experience of underdeveloped countries (Oxford doesn't really count) can bring, and which adds so much to the other book under review. But these are minor grumbles; the authors are to be congratulated on having set out the available literature in reasonable completeness.

After a useful introductory chapter which sets out the nature of the problem, the book is divided into four Parts, not all of equal length. The first Part, called Theories of Economic Development, devotes a chapter each to the analysis of economic growth by various broad schools of economic thought. A last chapter is given to 'A Comparison of Development Theories'. There are strong, and in my view, telling arguments against this rather categorical way of summarizing the literature, but even given this, the treatment is surprisingly uneven. That on the Classics is well done within its compass, while that on Marxian theory would have profited from a discussion of recent important contributions, such as Joan Robinson's writing, which start very much from a Classical-Marxian framework.

<sup>a</sup>No serious use is made, for example, of the theory of international trade, or of Keynesian theory.

The chapter on the neo-classical economists shows how awkward such a Procrustean arrangement of chapters can be. For whatever reasons (and these in themselves would repay a sympathetic study) these economists were, by and large, not especially interested in the sort of problems that exercised Smith, Ricardo and Marx. They were essentially concerned with forging a new tool, the theory of value, in all its ramifications. They were marginally concerned with the theory of business cycles, much more so with the theory of money; but it was the construction of a logically coherent micro-economics that was at the centre of their efforts. Economic growth was simply not for them, the major immediate analytical problem. The authors recognize this on paper, but the recognition does not stay with them. In their 'appraisal' of the neo-classical economists they can say that "most neo-classical economists do not approach the study of economics with as broad a vision as does Marshall" (p. 83). Surely a very strong case can be made out for saying that Wicksell (who is strangely described as "another leading Swedish economist", p. 77), Walras and Pareto had at least as "broad a vision". General equilibrium, grasped in the way that these men grasped it, is a broad concept indeed.

The problem here is that in the elevation of economic development to be the "grand theme" of economics, the fact that there are other important aspects to economics tends to be ignored. Indeed one could argue, as Bauer and Yamey essentially do, that efficient static allocation of resources is the best recipe for economic growth, so that even micro-economic general equilibrium analysis is really 'growth' theory at bottom. And of course there is a sense — although not a very useful sense — in which the term 'economic development' simply subsumes all economics. Sometimes the authors appear to reason on this basis.

The chapter on Schumpeter seems to be a piece of filial piety, now apparently incumbent on most ex-Harvard students. Schumpeter was a great man, greater than anything that he actually wrote, but it seems doubtful whether his theory of development can stand a whole chapter to itself in a context like this. Even so, it is not really useful to say that "Although Schumpeter's analysis is provocative, it seems one-sided and over-emphasized" (pp. 98-9). Could we imagine his writings being anything else, and would we read them with such excitement if they were? Schumpeter could display a wondrous sympathy with widely differing doctrines, but this did not prevent him from holding tenaciously, and at times dogmatically, to his own views.

The next chapter on post-Keynesian work (there is none on Keynes himself) gives a competent account of the Harrod-Domar macro-dynamics, and says a little about the stagnation thesis. This chapter is perfectly reasonable, provided that the student realizes that this is by no means the whole story of recent developments<sup>a</sup>. The final chapter of Part I is a rather confusing sum-

<sup>a</sup>One very penetrating model which the authors seem to have missed is that of D. Bensussan-Butt (1). The recent developments in *Econometrica* of the original von Neumann growth model are also full of interest, as is the work of Chenery and his associates on the allocation of investment.

mary — indeed a summary of summaries — of what has gone before, and scarcely seems worth the space. The student is likely to leave Part I, under the influence of this chapter, without any very clear model, or set of models, with which to work, and with his analytical powers sapped by a rather flaccid eclecticism. Of course the authors may argue that it is the job of the textbook to present what has been written, and not to put forward new theories. Granted this, however, it still remains true that Part I as a whole does not provide him with that 'engine of analysis', however crude, that the student has some right to expect, and which, with some extra effort, could have been provided. It would have lent organization to the rest of the book.

Part 2 is called "Historical Outlines of Economic Development", and is in fact an account of the British economy from the industrial revolution on, with especial reference to the period since 1870 or thereabouts. The justification for this particular study is made in terms of a concept of "the center and the periphery" in world economic development, with Britain as the centre. This interesting theoretical idea is not worked out in any detail, and plays no role in Part I, which is the logical place for it. It is always useful, of course, to have a case study, but the reasons why Britain was chosen, and not the United States, or Russia, or Japan, or any other 'rich' country are not set out convincingly. One suspects that the authors had some of this material lying around anyway, having been collected for other purposes; which is a perfectly sound reason for turning it to good account here.

This Part is competently written, being 'economists' history' rather than economic history, and being based mainly on secondary, and in places tertiary, material. It is a useful brief account of the period, especially of the later part, but not much more than that. The serious student should still go to less derivative sources.

It is interesting that here and in Part 3 the authors show greater surefootedness in handling international aspects of development than in discussing domestic problems, and the treatment moves on to a higher level. A wider view of the whole world economy, is taken and Britain's special problems recede into the background. Many students should find these "international" chapters valuable.

Part 3, easily the longest section, is entitled "Accelerating Development in Poor Countries", and is really the focus of the entire work. Given the audience at which it is aimed, there is very little one can say in general about the authors' treatment, although in scores of places my emphasis would, in varying degrees, be different. Usually they set out the issues fairly (there is a very slight bias to the 'right'), and give good guides to the literature, though sometimes they are more eclectic than they need to be. Words like "appraisal", "significant", and "insight" come in for a lot of hard work, and their arguments are not always consistent; but generally it is a workmanlike job. If the general impression one has at the end is of inconclusiveness, then that, after all, faithfully reflects the state of the debate.



The only serious objection that I have to this Part is at the very end (pp. 442-446), where the authors propose a programme, breathtaking in its sheer unreality, of "Some Topics for Case Studies", which covers four pages and lists, according to my count, exactly 100 'topics'. The purpose behind this remarkable list had me completely baffled until someone more perceptive than I about American universities, suggested that it makes a good series of lecture headings. Perhaps the roundness of that 100 is no accident.

The remaining Part 4 surveys development in rich countries, and takes less than a hundred pages to cover practically every conceivable problem of industrial societies, throwing in for good measure a mightily compressed economic history of most of them. It is rather like 'doing' the Louvre in a morning. Perhaps it may be useful as a compendium of facts and references; it is difficult to see any other serious use for it.

This review has quite deliberately judged both these books by high standards. As two of the earliest textbooks in the field, they will help to set precedents for future productions, and therefore it is more important that they should be good than that, say, another good text should be added to the already admirably covered field of Keynesian theory. Both sets of authors are to be commended for having made the brave attempt. I do not believe that they have succeeded as well as they might have done in producing texts that are fully satisfactory; but nor do I believe that the state of the subject permits of a completely satisfactory textbook.

The major problem is that it is difficult for a text to have to admit that it does not know the answers, which is the position in the theory of economic growth. To a few, a very few, problems we have reasonably complete answers; on some others we can say something useful. Over very wide ranges we are almost totally ignorant, and it is only honest to say so. Until that basic situation is changed, no textbook will be very satisfactory.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*My Mother Who Fathered Me.* By Edith Clark. Allen and Unwin, London, 1957, 216 pp., 18/-.

Sociologists usually take their anthropological brethren to task for at least three reasons. First, in attempting to delineate cultural patterns presumably typical of an entire society, a single community is often the anthropologist's unit of study. Second, observations are rarely reported in quantitative terms—rather, an average, modal or typical picture of the cultural pattern is given. Third, readers are rarely given a thorough exposition, analysis and evaluation of the techniques of data collection. It is gratifying to a sociologist, therefore, to read an anthropological report which avoids at least two of these deficiencies.

The design of Miss Clarke's project was such that three quite differing rural communities were studied during a two year period, and the volume is sprinkled with numbers and percentages telling us the *degree* to which given cultural patterns occur in each of the communities. Beyond the facts that the author had three colleagues and seven field workers assisting in the task, and that participant observation and "free" interviews were used, no insight into field problems and techniques is given.

The communities were chosen to represent three distinct agricultural types: 1) "Sugartown", a heavily itinerant population of 1,200, dependent on cane farming; 2) "Mocca," an impoverished population of 400 composed mainly of small cultivators (under 5 acres); and 3) "Orange Grove", a relatively well-to-do population of 670, dependent on medium-sized citrus and mixed farms. The general geographic location of the communities is not stated.

The volume is divided into six chapters dealing with different aspects of family organization in the rural communities studied. Since summarization is not one of the strong points of this volume (the book "just stops" on page 190), a brief exposition of the findings (especially those of the earlier chapters) seems indicated.

After a brief background chapter the author gives us a fascinating account of the system of land tenure of her communities. Partly as a result of slave conditions land is viewed as a crucial symbol of status, and as the only real source of security. A whole complex of rights and obligations with respect to it have grown up, most of them quite opposite to the principles upheld by contemporary law. Inherited or family land, especially that handed down from an emancipated-slave ancestor, is viewed as sacred — it is owned by future generations as well as present and past and therefore cannot be sold. In principle any member of the family at any time has the right to use it. The inheritance principles are equally at odds with the law of the

land. There is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children as such, descent and inheritance being reckoned either by blood or name. If by blood (Sugartown) the heirs are all children of a woman, regardless of paternity or residence; if by name (Mocca) all the children of a man regardless of maternity. Neither wife nor concubine has customary rights to her spouse's land. Conflicts between the unwritten codes and the law are numerous but the former not only go unrecognized in the courts but are unknown in any detail to most practising lawyers.

Chapter III discusses the factors encouraging and inhibiting marriage. Marriage is generally considered to be the desirable and respectable way of life for a man and woman. Indeed, it is so respectable that stringent entrance requirements are present which many feel they cannot fulfil — for example, an expensive wedding celebration, a house, and preferably a bit of land. Moreover, marriage is an important index of social mobility and consequently it is expected that the wife will be free from the necessity of working. Thus she becomes an economic liability rather than an asset. The strongest motivations for marriage are religious and, of course, prestige. Differences among the communities were found. Marriage predominates in the more well-to-do-community (Orange Grove), concubinage in Sugartown and Mocca. Only in Orange Grove is there community pressure toward marriage.

Chapter IV concerns "Sex, Procreation and the Institution of Concubinage." Important differences in attitudes toward sex were found among the communities. In Orange Grove, especially among families of higher status, discussion of sexual topics was *tabu*, and illicit or casual relations were carried on only surreptitiously. At the other extreme, Sugartown residents enjoyed talking about sex and openly engaged in promiscuous affairs. Nevertheless, the parental attitudes and behaviour with respect to the first (illegitimate) pregnancy of the young girl are roughly the same in all communities — a Victorian-type anger and expulsion of the girl from the household. Although the girl and her offspring are later readmitted there is no pressure on the male to form a domiciliary arrangement since the girl is considered too young and the relationship improper. Economic pressures may subsequently force the girl into a concubinal arrangement. In Sugartown the concubinal relations were entered into with little thought of permanence and were usually dissolved after a child was born. In other areas, however, the union in many respects resembled marriage. A substantial minority of couples have outside children living in the household (children of one partner by another man or woman). This is more typical of concubinal than marital arrangements, and the children are more typically those of the woman rather than of the man.

Chapter V might have been and perhaps still is, the most significant section of the book. Here the author attempts to describe and analyse the composition and organization of the rural household. An impressive range of household types is delineated by Miss Clarke and a serious attempt is made

to specify their incidence numerically. The types are related to other features such as size of household, marital status, number and kind of outside children, etc. Unfortunately, the impact of this chapter is lessened by poor organization and presentation of the materials. More tables and a more concise and pointed text would have been helpful. However, the few tables which are employed go untitled and one must flounder in a textual maze for their interpretation. There is a mine of information here but more refinement of the ore seems indicated.

A final chapter covers a broad range of topics in an easy anecdotal style. Parent-child relations, child-rearing practices, educational patterns, female economic activities, and family-role expectations, are among the subjects touched upon. These seem to be residual areas, those more central to the study having been treated in previous chapters.

The findings of this study are of sufficient importance to raise the question as to how generalizable they are with respect to the rest of rural Jamaica. The author does not give us enough information here for evaluation.

To develop this point let us consider the fact that as regards civil status striking differences are found between 1943 census figures and those reported for the three communities under study. Since Miss Clarke does not attempt to account for these discrepancies we are left to ponder whether: a) considerable social change with respect to marriage patterns has occurred between the time of the census and the community study; b) her communities are not typical (unfortunately she uses island rather than rural census figures); c) definitions and data collection procedures were sufficiently different in the studies as to vitiate comparison with the census.

Clearly, it would be of the greatest importance for an evaluation and generalization of the findings to know which of these or other possible explanations seems most likely. Data from the 1953 sample census weakens the likelihood of the first explanation. With regard to the second we do not wish to enter the useless controversy over whether three communities can or cannot be typical of rural Jamaica. Every community is both typical and atypical depending upon the general population class with which it is compared, the particular characteristics considered for comparison, and the definition of typicality. Of the greatest utility here would have been data of a quantitative sort (educational levels, income, occupational distribution, etc.) for each community compared with rural Jamaica as a whole and with those segments of it which Miss Clarke believes each of her communities represents. We would then be in a position to judge the *extent to which* the communities approximate national or regional averages on a number of varied characteristics.

With regard to definition there are again ambiguities. In an early chapter the author defines concubinage as cohabitation without marriage; casual mating as sexual congress without cohabitation *or any intention* to form a permanent relationship; and promiscuity as *indiscriminate* casual mating

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(reviewer's italics). The problems involved in operationalizing such elusive concepts as "indiscriminate" and "intention" are considerable, and we are given no information on how or indeed whether there was any attempt to do so in the field. Where statistical data on mating forms are presented, the terms married, concubinage and *single* are used, the latter category presumably including those in casual and promiscuous relationships, as well as the continent. On the other hand, if the field workers took their definitions seriously they may have classified as concubinage those non-cohabiting, sexually associating couples who intend to cohabit at some time. If so, it might partially explain the low incidence of "single" women and the high incidence of concubinage.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the book is one that adds materially to knowledge of West Indian family patterns. It goes well beyond Kerr and Henriques especially with regard to the care and precision with which data are interpreted and reported. Not only will it be of interest to scholars but it will be valuable to all professionals in the West Indies who deal with lower-income families. This has been an eagerly awaited book and, on the whole, the anticipation has been justified.

Cornell University.

J. Mayone Stycos.

*The Measurement of Levels of Living with Special Reference to Jamaica.* By C. A. Moser. Colonial Research Studies No. 24. H.M.S.O., London, 1957, 106 pp. 13/6d.

This work stems directly from the United Nations' *Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living* (1954) which presented the findings of an international committee on the subject, mainly from the conceptual aspect. Mr. Moser's task (which was sponsored by the Colonial Economic Research Committee) was to examine the problem from the empirical aspect: to take a defined territory (Jamaica) and to see to what extent useful measurements of changes in levels of living over time could be obtained. It follows from this approach that the major interest of the study is in the methodology and not in Jamaican conditions *per se*. In fact, however, the reader with either interest will find plenty to reward him in this monograph.

In a brief preliminary (Part 1) the author reviews the basic concepts and sketches his general line of attack; out of the twelve items forming the "competent approach" of the U.N. Report, four are selected as being of special significance *viz.*, nutrition, education, health and housing. On balance it may well be thought that both the restriction of the field and the particular choice have considerable merit. This is best seen by considering the components that have been excluded: as a good generalization it is true to say that either they are likely to be highly correlated with the selected ones, (e.g., social security, conditions of work, clothing) or that they are of the intractable type which

are best ignored as a first approximation (e.g. human freedoms, recreation and entertainment). There is certainly no harm in this procedure whilst the issue remains at the component stage; any attempt at combination would raise quite different considerations. It may be noted, however, that Mr. Moser wisely decides against the combination of indicators within a component or the production of an overall index.

Part II is devoted to a detailed study of the four selected components together with some discussion of the more usual economic indicators. First, with regard to education, Moser follows the U.N. Report and employs a threefold classification of indicators — according to whether they relate to resources, utilization or “ends”. The basic series available under the first head are school places per 1,000 school-age population, number of teachers and number of pupils per teacher. They are certainly acceptable as appropriate fundamental indicators of resources but, as the author is at care to point out, their proper interpretation demands additional data on any *quality* changes which may have occurred. These data are meagre in the extreme but, for the measurement of changes over time, it would seem reasonable to believe that quality changes cannot be so large as completely to upset the broad inferences that we are likely to draw from the basic series. It emerges at once, however, that if international comparisons were at issue then few people would be content with such a comforting assumption; moreover, it is very hard to think how it would be possible to tackle such a question on any but a superficial plane. Apart from any other considerations there is the basic difficulty that quality itself can only be assessed in terms of the ideals of a particular society. With regard to utilization the main series found useful for the purpose are school enrolment and attendance figures — and in view of the large discrepancy between the two it is evident that the latter series provides by far the more significant indicator. When it comes to evaluating “ends”, or the educational level resulting from the utilization of the given resources, it is tempting to say that Jamaica is a poor choice for empirical study. That is to say the author has an easy problem since nobody is likely to object to the use of literacy as the criterion where universal literacy does not obtain. The far more interesting and important question is what is to be used for societies which have achieved universal literacy. Leaving such matters aside, however, the general impression is that the educational component obtains a satisfactory and competent treatment from which it is possible to make an objective judgment of how the level of living has varied over the time period considered. Inevitably there are large gaps where no data exist — indeed the list of possible additional indicators that one might suggest is so long that it is pointless to embark on it here — but the limitations are in one way decidedly helpful: once statistical material begins to proliferate then the problem of summarizing, of combining indicators into a component index, can hardly be avoided if any meaning is to be obtained. As it is, dealing only with a relatively few basic series, the general picture emerges quite clearly without the need for further manipulations.



The treatment of the nutrition component, through no fault of the author, stands in marked contrast to the first section. All that he is able to do is to throw together the available material, such as it is, and to extract a few rough impressions. The most striking point is perhaps that scarcely any of the material is really suitable for the measurement of changes over time, the fundamental objective. In these circumstances the tentative conclusion of rising levels over the past decade, which seems to be implied, can only be regarded as dubious. A subsidiary point of interest is that the discussion is virtually confined to malnutrition which in a sense is the counterpart of illiteracy. The question, therefore, of how to tackle this component for a country where there is no malnutrition is even more pertinent. Moser appears to regard the preparation of food balance-sheets as a worthwhile undertaking and it is of course true that the work involved is relatively inexpensive and straightforward; none the less, from the point of view of obtaining the most significant data, it might well appear that sample surveys using probability methods are by far the most useful tool, in Jamaica or elsewhere. Some countries, such as Japan, already conduct periodic family budget enquiries and a phased sample method could be used conveniently to collect information relating more specifically to nutritional aspects.

The health component is dealt with next and its treatment creates much the same impression as education, that is to say a clear and readily comprehensible picture is produced on the basis of a few broad indicators. The data considered are of three main types — resources, morbidity and mortality. The main series employed under the first head are hospital beds per 1,000 population and population in relation to medical personnel. Attention is also drawn to the importance of considering preventive as well as curative medicine. The morbidity statistics are far from ideal and their significance is hard to assess. Both of these first two lines of approach are essentially negative — as the author points out, the larger part of data on health are bound to relate to ill-health — and this inevitably leaves open the question of how healthy are the non-sick. For this reason it appears to the reviewer that the usual mortality series provide by far the most convenient summary. It is, of course, true that they do not provide a direct indicator and that their time period of reference is somewhat blurred, but in broad terms they give what is wanted. In the case of Jamaica they leave no room for doubt about the improvement in this respect that has occurred over the past three-quarters of a century. The expectation of life at one year of age for males has risen from 44 years to 60 years whilst the infant mortality rate has fallen from 158 to 60. Changes of this magnitude are without ambiguity.

In the housing component it is found that there are virtually no data available at all which permit any attempt at measurement of changes over time. One feature which does emerge is the increase in the proportion of single room dwellings between 1911 and 1943; it may be wondered if this change was associated with a tendency for families to break up caused by such things as the emigration of young people from the rural areas to the capital.



After dealing with these four components, which were the main concern of the study, Moser appends some notes on indicators relating to real income. It is interesting to observe his opinion that "if measurement of levels of living had for some reason or other to be confined to one indicator only, some measure of income in real terms would be the natural choice". The contention is not that the economic progress so reflected can be equated necessarily with changes in welfare but that it is likely to be closely correlated with changes in component levels. Estimates are quoted which show the real gross domestic product *per caput* to have increased from £52 in 1938 to £60 in 1952, and the interesting thing is that a review of the results obtained in the component analyses appears to fit in with a change of this magnitude very well: that is, no startling changes are evident but on the whole there appears to be some slight progress. The snag is that given the G.D.P. data but not the component data one might well be hesitant in coming to the same conclusion.

Part III is devoted to the main methodological issues. Some of the most interesting discussion is concerned with the relation of standards or norms to actual levels of living. Throughout the study Moser insists that the study of levels only becomes meaningful when referred to given standards. Although he stresses the relative and often subjective nature of standards, in the sense that it is rarely possible to establish a norm based on scientific principles as could be done (at least theoretically) with nutritional indicators, it may be opined that there is here a fundamental quandary which needs a good deal of further illumination. The problem is this: for countries or other units subject to primary poverty there is comparatively little controversy over standards. As Moser points out, subsistence standards in the classical sense are appropriate and, as the whole study makes clear, a satisfactory method of measuring progress in terms of such a yardstick is perfectly possible. But for countries which have abolished primary poverty entirely the field becomes wide open and even the desirability of an authoritative definition of standards is questionable. The author here suggests the use of the concept "civilized living" which would take account "of the many aspects of modern life, from cinemas to T.V., which are part and parcel of common living standards." Most certainly such things are part of the fabric of life but if it is suggested that they are amenable to numerical measurement as indicators of levels of living then opinions may differ. Probably few people would wish to assert that an increase in the number of T.V. sets indicates a rise in the level of living without hedging it around with a mass of qualifications. If this is so then the value of the statistical approach becomes dubious. Rather it would seem that for such countries, as life becomes richer and of greater variety, a qualitative approach is the only one of any significance. Indeed, it might be suggested that in these circumstances the idea of *measuring* comparative levels of living becomes somewhat vulgar — as is thought of two families who indulge in such comparisons.

In the concluding chapter, Part IV, Mr. Moser makes an interesting sug-

gestion that intensive household living studies among particular sections of the community in Jamaica might be carried out by a team of experts investigating different aspects simultaneously. Such a survey would undoubtedly yield much useful data on the conditions of living but it is not too clear how it would further the measurement of changes in levels of living unless instituted as a recurrent undertaking. If the latter idea is envisaged it might be queried whether a more useful undertaking would not be periodic household expenditure surveys (not of an intensive case study type but probability samples covering the whole population) into which other aspects, e.g. health, housing, schooling etc., could be introduced by a phasing technique.

This report certainly forms a most valuable addition to the literature on levels of living and, incidentally, has provided an extremely useful "stock-taking" for those concerned with social policy in Jamaica. A particularly pleasing feature is the clarity with which the issues are presented and the orderly manner in which the topics are developed.

University of Hongkong.

W. F. Maunder.

*Rich Lands and Poor: The Road to World Prosperity.* By Gunnar Myrdal, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958, 168 pp.

*"For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath".*

This verse, in its inimitable scriptural style (Matthew 25: 29), communicates the pith of Dr. Myrdal's thesis. The book is really a reissue in revised version of lectures given by the author in Cairo at the invitation of the Bank of Egypt; and it was published in England last year under the less dramatic title, *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions*.

Like so many economic books published since the second World War, *Rich Lands and Poor* reflects the revolutionary change in attitude to underdeveloped countries. But it is not just another one of those books. It is physically smaller than most; it says much more than most; and it will raise more controversy than them all taken together. For, focusing on the large and growing economic disparity between developed and underdeveloped countries, the author not only blames this phenomenon upon international trade but swings mighty blows against the very foundations of the theory of international economics and, in fact, economic doctrines in general. As a scholar, and a distinguished one, he naturally recognizes unhesitatingly that classical and neo-classical economic theory does explain a great deal of economic phenomena. But he conceives it to be his duty to point out in no uncertain terms how silent, or evasive, or irrelevant this theory becomes when the topic is "economic development of poor countries". Indeed, traditional theory supplies not even an "empty box" for the problem of the increasing regional inequalities *within* a country. And, as the United Nations Economic Surveys of

Europe so clearly demonstrate, this is a serious problem even in some relatively advanced countries.

Many nervous acolytes of past and present masters of the doctrine of the free market, of *laissez faire* (in all conditions and circumstances), and of stable equilibrium will undoubtedly accuse Dr. Myrdal of keeping low company, politically and philosophically. But the author does not advocate equalizing incomes even within a country or nation. He upholds Alfred Marshall in the latter's plea for caution, good sense, and responsibility. He does think, however that growing inequality in incomes (internationally as well as inter-regionally), is a principal cause of world tension. And his ideal is world peace. We can hardly accuse him of being original in these respects. The entire discussion is in fact conducted on the author's explicit assumptions of the desirability of the goals of Western democracy, and Western ideals of equal opportunity (rather than equal income.)

But it is not the distinction of this book that it draws attention to increasing international inequality. Many have previously done this, and often with more illustration and elaboration as well, without, however, making it their central problem as Myrdal does. And Myrdal is not original either in complaining of the inadequacy of traditional theory in explaining economic development. His contribution and originality must be looked for in the sections where he offers his own theory in outline: "The Theory of Circular and Cumulative Causation".

The theory offered explains the why and how of the growing inequalities. Beginning with a simple illustration of the cumulative economic processes that ensue in a locality in which an important employer of labour is put out of business by a fire, and does not recommence, Myrdal points out how the lowered income in the locality not only discourages the entry of businessmen from elsewhere; but also drives out some existing businesses; how these events either reduce the flow of taxes available for financing public education and other services, or push up the rates of taxes to be borne by those who still have incomes and have not emigrated; and how, consequently, this either lowers both the cultural level and the economic productivity of the population, or imposes a discouraging burden upon the employed part of the population. All of which circumstances, and others not to be detailed here, accentuate and accelerate the absolute, or at least the relative, decline of that community. Myrdal sees no necessary or even normal tendency for the decline to end automatically. In other words, he discerns no forces that automatically counteract the original exogenous downward push exerted by the liquidation of the large employer. And so the concept and assumptions of stable equilibrium, so essential and fundamental to the theoretical structure of traditional marginal theory, come in for rather severe treatment at his new hands.

The author argues that the conventional assumptions require that we abstract from the "non-economic" and various interconnected cultural fac-

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ors of life; and that this forces us to shut out the reality of dynamism in favour of achieving the neatness of a static theory. It is hard to see how anyone could dispute this. Yet the concept of stable equilibrium is a valuable aid in understanding the interrelatedness of the "economic factors" themselves.

In this book, however, we do not have the plaint of a pessimist. The author is delighted to show that the circular and cumulative processes may work upwards as well, in a general economic and cultural expansion. In fact, he appropriately reminds us of the automatic development that Britain, America and other advanced countries experienced, once their economies attained a certain level (to which they had been first impelled by exogenous forces, such as geographical discoveries and government policies). Actually, of course, it is precisely to set and keep in motion an upward cumulative process that planning has been adopted in Puerto Rico and elsewhere, although the verbalization of executive and administrative purposes will usually be at least a little different. And Myrdal raises his voice in a strong appeal that the advanced countries do not condemn or cold-shoulder but lend sustenance to these planning efforts.

Evidently, the author assumes that because inter-regional and class tensions have diminished in the richest countries, while opportunities there have become less unequal — as has undoubtedly been the case in recent generations, so also will international hostilities dwindle away if international disparities are reduced. We cannot, however, refrain from questioning this assumption, though we, too, would like to think it is a justifiable one. But ancient, mediaeval and modern political and social history do not really provide a basis for the assumption. In any case, since the gradual equalizing of opportunities in Britain, North Western Europe and North America has had to await the emergence of strong national governments and exceedingly elaborate complexes of regulatory public interferences; and since these rest on a large coincidence of the cultural values within each of the national societies, a real beginning of the process of equalizing international opportunities must be a long way off. There would first have to be international acceptance of rather stronger world organizations than any of those that now exist.

In preparing us for his own, very briefly stated theory, the author may have gone a little too far in his criticisms of traditional theory. On the other hand, a severe jolt may be a desirable and useful experience for some academic as well as some administrative economists. Too many writers of economic texts and other books, and of advisory reports to governments, fail to remember the basic assumptions of equilibrium theory. Too many fail to impress upon the young student the limitations of the theory they teach. To economists born and bred in poor countries, and who have tried from time to time to resist the adoption of dynamic policies based on the assumptions underlying static theory, Myrdal's attack on the latter is a potent tonic.

Naturally, his theory needs development. He is himself aware of this. But it will soon take the place of the much less dynamic or, rather, the static concept of the "vicious circle," which, in the last decade, has been presented with increasing frequency and not without good purpose.

In Part II of his book, Dr. Myrdal elaborates his objections to traditional theory with lively, though all too curtailed, discussions of the philosophical foundations of the theory. It is especially interesting to note his recognition that classical and neo-classical economic theory has a great deal of teleological content. He exposes a number of the predilections of the creators of the theory, and this will irritate many academicians.

Moving rapidly from sections on ideology to one on Escapism in economic theory, to another on the Convenience of Ignorance, the author comes to offer one on The Blind Spot (developed inadvertently by the classical economists) in regard to the interests of foreign nations. In the course of all this, he refers to the dichotomy introduced by John Stuart Mill (production to be treated separately from distribution), to the impact of colonialism, and to the recent Great Awakening of poor countries in post war years. He exhorts economists in poorer countries to conduct more research, and to study carefully traditional theory, without becoming so intellectually enmeshed in it that they cannot cut and reform it to suit their own environment. Finally, he advises that in their efforts to build new and more appropriate theory, these economists should abandon the old distinction between "economic" and "non-economic" factors, and substitute a **distinction of "more relevant" and "less relevant" factors**. Different problems would involve different factors as the "more relevant" ones.

It is an excellent little book, especially valuable since it does not inflame animosities towards the richer countries. Extremists will of course, find this a fault. But Dr. Myrdal recognizes that theory cannot be completely unrelated to social environment. His final injunction to the economists of the poorer countries should therefore have been that they try desperately hard to introduce as few of their own predilections as possible into whatever theory they might eventually create. For they will no more succeed in achieving complete objectivity than their intellectual ancestors. And, perhaps, economists in the richer countries might, in the long run, attain greater objectivity with respect to a least some of the phenomena in poor countries. And *vice versa*?

University of Puerto Rico.

Alfred P. Thorne

*Massnahmen zur Forderung der Privaten Kapitalbildung in Portugiesischen Reich* (Measures to Promote Private Capital Formation in the Portuguese Empire: Saving Possibilities and Financing Methods in Development Areas). By R. von Gersdorff. Polygraphischer Verlag Ag, Zurich, 1958, 265, pp.

In this dissertation the author, a consultant for underdeveloped countries in the Hamburgischer Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv, draws on his experience of



Portugal and the Portuguese empire in an attempt to relate the present problems of savings and investment in that country to the same problems overseas and to suggest how they may be solved. His first section consists of a discussion of the attitude of the present Portuguese Government toward economic development and of an examination of the general problem of capital formation in underdeveloped countries (along the lines of the United Nations report on this subject) and of Röpke's classification of forms of capital formation, (1), with examples drawn mainly from Portuguese situations. His second section documents the present scarcity of capital in Portugal. In his third section he deals first with existing forms of savings, discussing how they might be supplemented with measures which have been tried elsewhere or which seem theoretically promising; and next with the prospects for capital formation in each of the main branches of industry. An appendix provides more detailed documentation of certain points, and the book is furnished with a satisfactory bibliography and index.

The merits of this book are solid and obvious. It makes available a mass of information on economic policy and on savings and capital formation in a country which is large enough to be important and small enough to have been neglected in the literature. It also provides an exhaustive review of means of increasing savings and of applying them to productive use.

For the West Indian reader there is a special interest in the data von Gersdorff provides on the Portuguese economy; for against a quite different historical and cultural background he will find surprisingly close analogies with West Indian conditions. In 1955 the *per capita* gross domestic product in Portugal was \$203 U.S., against about \$250 in Jamaica. Gross domestic capital formation was about 15 per cent of national income in both areas. The same structural problems plagued both economies; heavy dependence on agriculture, serious underemployment, capital shortage (particularly in agriculture) — all the traits of the underdeveloped country which have been inventoried so often.

Yet there are two important points of contrast. One relates to policy; the Salazar regime has long been committed to a policy of stability in prices, conservatism in financing and moderation in social and economic change. The Jamaican Government, on the other hand, while it has less discretion in financial matters than the Portuguese, and little control over the price level has so far as possible promoted economic change. The other point relates to results; since 1950, at least, *per capita* production in Portugal at constant prices has been remarkably stable, while *per capita* consumption has probably declined. In Jamaica, both production and consumption *per capita* have been rising at something like 5 per cent per annum. It is natural to ask whether the difference in policy and the difference in results may not be connected.

Surely, too, a full discussion of the relation between Portuguese policy and its results would be of interest to a wide circle of economists. This is a field in which von Gersdorff hardly sets foot. It is not that he is unaware of the



problem; in his introduction he mentions Portugal as an example of the fact that

. . . auch jahrzehntelange innenpolitische Stabilität ohne ein einziges Staatsrechnungsfizit, eine wertbeständige Währung . . . ein niedriges Zinsniveau und Zahlungsbilanzüberschüsse die ausreichende Steigerung des Volkseinkommens . . . nicht garantieren.

He appears fully at home in the general discussion of development and equally so in particularized discussions of Portuguese conditions; but the two tend to alternate sandwich-fashion, instead of being incorporated into a single argument. There is more critical insight in the brief section on Portugal in the O.E.E.C.'s "Europe today and in 1960" (quoted in Appendix C) than in the rest of von Gersdorff's book.

His treatment of the problem of increasing the available means of saving shows a rather similar weakness. General discussion, detailed description of the methods used elsewhere and observations on the Portuguese situation follow one another without finding their place in any comprehensive argument. In particular, his objective of exploring all possible lines of innovation in the savings field would seem to call for an attempt to evaluate whether some means may not be better adapted than others to the social and economic situation of this or that country and of how far the means suggested may conflict with Portuguese social institutions. Again, it seems that von Gersdorff is well acquainted with the background but accepts self-imposed restrictions on his discussion which are exasperating to the reader.

In spite of its limitations, this book is valuable both for the light it throws on problems of capital formation in Portugal — yet another variation which helps to increase our appreciation of the general theme of economic development — and for its inventory of savings institutions over a very wide area.

University College of the West Indies.

G. E. Cumper.

#### REFERENCE

1. ROPKE, Wilhelm (1929) *Die Theorie der Kapitalbildung*. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen.

## RESEARCH NOTE

### LAND UTILIZATION AND SETTLEMENT IN TOBAGO, THE WEST INDIES.

The economic potentialities of Tobago, a small island ward of Trinidad, 116 square miles in extent, and their exploitation in the future depend on two assumptions: (a) that the island is underpopulated and therefore capable of supporting a larger population than it holds at present (about 33,000), (b) that Tobago was in the past the "breadbasket" of Trinidad and is capable once more of being restored through development schemes to its former productivity.

To test the validity of these assumptions a project was undertaken, firstly to determine current land use patterns, crops grown, and the potentialities and limitations of available land; and secondly to plot the distribution of population in the island, to examine demographic trends and rates of migration and finally to relate population decline to present and potential fuel production.

In the absence of large scale maps aerial photographs were utilized for field work and a land utilization map on the scale 1/18,000 is being prepared for publication. The final classification used to distinguish land use patterns will probably be: (i) coconut groves and fields; (ii) coconut groves mixed with bananas; (iii) cocoa plantations; (iv) lime orchards; (v) peasant gardens; (vi) *lastro* (abandoned cultivated lands reverting to bush)<sup>a</sup>; (vii) secondary forest; (viii) virgin forest; (ix) swamplands. It was impracticable to map minor crops like bananas and tobacco in pure stands, or to plot the distribution of livestock, but these will be discussed in the final text.

The historical aspects of land use and the agricultural economy were found to be a necessary background to the current land use pattern in Tobago, and considerable information was obtained from the local archives in the government offices, Scarborough. Many peasants and estate owners were interviewed in an attempt to reach some valid conclusions about the amount of land upon which a man and his family could subsist by growing food and cash crops without recourse to outside wage-earning employment, assuming a rising standard of living in the future, when domestic facilities like electricity cover the island.

For technical reasons an attempt to plot population distribution proved less simple than that of mapping land use. Adequate census material, slave records and other documents available in the archives provided valuable comparative material for an analysis of population growth, trends and the settlement pattern since the emancipation.

<sup>a</sup>*Lastro* is a Spanish word from the South American mainland, equivalent to "ruinate" land in Jamaica. It implies in this context cultivated land abandoned to bush and represents a stage in the reversion to secondary forest.

The link between land use and population behaviour could be discerned in the rapidly increasing areas of *lastro*; this can be directly related to the mounting numbers of male and female adults (ages 20 – 45 years) emigrating to Trinidad where they have been easily absorbed in the developing labour force of the oil fields and secondary industries<sup>a</sup>.

It will be subsequently shown however that the decline in food production is not wholly the result of the migration of able-bodied men from the lands, but is generally due to declining yields from the marginal peasant lands in deeply dissected hill country where slopes vary from 25° to 50°, and which have been run down by a century of ruthless "slash and burn" cultivation and neglect of conservation practices. Many of these lands would in fact be graded as Class IV, V and VI in Jamaica<sup>b</sup>, and it is doubtful whether it would be economically advisable to restore any of them to cultivable land by expensive terracing and rehabilitation; the cultivation of plantation crops on the lower slopes, forestry and fruit tree cultivation on the upper, the voluntary consolidation of small holdings into small plantations varying in size from 25 to 75 acres are likely to prove more profitable investments<sup>c</sup>. The alluvial lands of the lower reaches of the main windward river valleys, though attractive sites for intensive horticulture, are liable to serious flooding during the summer season. It is suggested that when large estates come on the market the government should buy them for subdivision into units large enough to encourage young enterprising Tobagonians to become owners of small plantations, employing local labour, or that estates should be run by a selected group of such young men on a profit-sharing basis.<sup>d</sup> It should be recognized that, although politically expedient, the small peasant holdings on such marginal lands are uneconomic and merely perpetuate poverty.

Since there is little suitable Crown land available for distribution, the only hope for extensive recovery from the serious economic and social malaise in which Tobago finds itself today lies in the re-orientation of the population from agricultural slumdom to consolidation of peasant gardens, assisted capital investment in viable crops like cocoa, bananas, tobacco and commercial timber, the intensive development of a small beef cattle industry based on sound breeding and pasture grasses like Pangola, and the application of irrigation to intensive horticulture on the small areas of land suitable for this

<sup>a</sup>Tobago is one of the few islands in the West Indies from which emigration is simple to a larger island. Trinidad and Tobago are administered as a single unit, so that any immigration restrictions into Trinidad do not apply to Tobagonians.

<sup>b</sup>Land capability is expressed in Jamaica in six distinct classes, and land in any of the classes IV, V and VI is not recommended for cultivated crops. For a detailed discussion see: *The Farmers' Guide*, Jamaica Agricultural Society, 1954. pp. 88-90.

<sup>c</sup>It is suggested that a regional valley authority for the Courland River basin with powers to control land use and misuse, to re-allocate land and determine crop types to be grown is an immediate priority in Tobago, since this valley is likely to be the site of the next catchment dam for water supplies when Hillsborough Dam is "saturated."

<sup>d</sup>An experimental profit-sharing scheme has been established on the island of Nevis, in an attempt to overcome the vexatious problem of destroying the essential unity of the original estate by subdivision into a number of smallholdings whose total production will never allow the holders to be independent of wage-earning employment for some part of the year.

purpose. Serious efforts should also be made to investigate the widespread practice of praedial larceny and the reasons for its existence, and practical steps taken to eliminate it so that farmers can carry out improvements without fear of theft. To encourage its most efficient use, land should be taxed in future on a scale which accords with the Jamaica Land Capability Classification rather than at a fixed or standard rate. This may result in larger crops of vegetables and ground provisions from estates on the windward coast where valuable alluvial land is not being used intensively enough.

It is clear that emigration will not cease until the Tobagonian finds it more profitable to remain on his island. He is not to be blamed for failing to live off his small holdings and abandoning the difficult task of maintaining a family on marginal land.

David L. Niddrie

## RESEARCH NOTE

### EVALUATION OF THE FARM DEVELOPMENT SCHEME, JAMAICA

The Farm Development Scheme is an agricultural development plan of the Government of Jamaica, based on the principle of making the best use of limited land space, and at the same time trying to meet the basic needs of the population of the island. It provides for subsidies and loans in respect of a number of items in farm improvement work.

In June 1958, the Government decided to have an evaluation done of the work so far performed under the Scheme, with particular reference to the results so far achieved, the costs involved and the major factors which have accounted for the results or lack of results. Moreover, the effectiveness and the soundness of structure of the Extension Services implementing the Scheme would have to be examined.

Dr. G. J. Kruijer, lecturer in sociology at the University of Amsterdam, was appointed to take charge of the study, Mr. A. Nuis, sociologist, assigned by the Government of the Netherlands, to assist in the work. It was intended that an agricultural economist should be added to the team, but at the time of writing no appointment has been made in this respect.

The team is being assisted by government officers, some of whom are spending several months on specific parts of the study. Further assistance is being given by an Advisory Committee, consisting of government administrators and people with practical knowledge of Jamaican agriculture, and by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, which provides office accommodation and assists in many other ways.

Work on the project started in October 1958, when Dr. Kruijer and Mr. Nuis arrived in the island. After an orientation period, officers of government services and voluntary organizations connected with the Scheme were interviewed in every part of the island; in the summer of 1959, a number of farmers in selected areas will be visited. It is hoped that fieldwork will be completed by the end of August, 1959.

The study aims at providing practical recommendations for future policy in regard to the Farm Development Scheme. It is hoped that, on a more general level, a contribution can be made to the little explored field of systematic evaluation of development programmes.

## CONFERENCE OF CREOLE LANGUAGE STUDIES

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES, JAMAICA

MARCH 28 — APRIL 4, 1959

### REPORT

In December, 1958, the Division of the Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation of New York made a grant of \$2,300 to the University College of the West Indies to help defray the expenses of a small conference on Creole Language Studies. Scholars in many different countries have been working on Creole languages for a great many years but the work has been sporadic and the workers rather isolated from one another. Since the establishment of the Linguistic Survey of the British Caribbean at the University College of the West Indies in 1954 it has become increasingly apparent that a centre such as the College provided had a valuable function to perform in facilitating the exchange of information among linguists interested in Creole languages generally. The conference was therefore designed to explore the possibilities of closer co-operation in solving common problems in this field.

The following visitors attended:

- S. R. R. Allsopp Esq. (Georgetown, British Guiana.)
- Professor E. Bagby Atwood (Department of English, University of Texas.)
- Dr. J. Berry (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).
- M. Goodman Esq. (Columbia University.)
- Prof. Robert A. Hall Jr. (Division of Modern Languages, Cornell University.)
- D. Lawton Esq. (Michigan State University.)
- Prof. A. H. Marckwardt (Department of English, University of Michigan.)
- Douglas Taylor Esq. (Magua, Dominica.)
- Dr. J. Voorhoeve (University of Amsterdam Bureau of Linguistic Research, Suriname.)

There were present in addition (already in residence at the U.C.W.I.):

- Prof. W. S. Allen, Professor of Comparative Philology, Cambridge University.
- Prof. F. G. Cassidy, Department of English, University of Wisconsin. (Senior Fulbright Fellow)
- Dr. David De Camp, Department of English, U.C.W.I. (Senior Fulbright Fellow)
- Dr. R. B. Le Page, Department of English, U.C.W.I. (convener.)

M. Pradel Pompilus, of Haiti, and R. W. Thompson Esq. of the Department of Modern Languages, Hong Kong University, sent papers to be read in their absence.

Regrets for their inability to attend were received from:

- Dr. L. L. F. Brosnahan (University College, Ibadan, Nigeria); Professor Luis Flórez (Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogota, Colombia); Professors Richard Morse and Manuel Alvarez Nazario (University of Puerto Rico); Professors D. W. Reed and J. H. Sledd (Berkeley); Professor Lorenzo D. Turner (Roosevelt University, Chicago.)



## PROGRAMME

The following papers were read, some of which will be published in *Creole Language Studies* Vol. 2:

- Pronominal Forms in the Working-Class Dialect of British Guiana (Allsopp).
- The Machine Handling of Lexical Data (Atwood).
- The Krio Language of Sierra Leone (Berry).
- Samples of Vocabulary and Problems of Treatment in the Dictionary of Jamaican English (Cassidy and Le Page).
- Social and Geographical Factors in Jamaican Dialects (De Camp).
- Pronominal Forms in some Dialects of French Creole (Goodman).
- The Orthographies of Pidgin and Creolized Languages (Hall).
- Creolized Languages and Genetic Relationships (Hall).
- Some General Principles Affecting 'linguistic compromise', illustrated from the United States (Marckwardt).
- The Influence of French Creole on the Official French of Haiti (Pompilus).
- Possible Affinities between the Creole Dialects of the Old and New Worlds (Thompson).
- Linguistic Experiments in Syntactic Analysis (Voorhoeve).
- A Project for the Study of Creole Language History (Voorhoeve, on behalf of the University of Amsterdam Bureau of Linguistic Research in Suriname).

Mr. Taylor, who had originally felt unable to prepare a paper in time, submitted a written contribution entitled *Some Dominican-Creole Descendants of the French Definite Article*.

Each paper was followed by discussion. In addition, there was a good deal of informal discussion at the Principal's House, where all the visitors to the conference were lodged.

On the last evening a public session was held, at which four members of the conference were invited to speak for five minutes each on aspects of the conference that had interested them, and members of the public were then invited to put questions. A long and interesting discussion took place on a wide variety of points, many of them concerned with educational policy. A transcript of the tape-recording of this session will shortly be available.

The visitors had two opportunities to see something of Jamaica, first of all on a one-day trip to Ocho Rios, and secondly on a two-day trip to the Maroon settlement at Moore Town, in Portland, where Dr. De Camp had arranged for the informants to be available. A non-Maroon informant was available at the U.C.W.I. for one afternoon, and a number of the visitors took the opportunity to interrogate him and make recordings.

## OBSERVATIONS.

It was generally agreed that the conference had been extremely valuable. Ideas were freely exchanged on such topics as: the general concept of a "Creole" language common denominators in the linguistic structure and vocabulary of various Creoles; the best theoretical and practical approaches to the study of Creole languages; the whole problem of the probable genesis of these languages — had they sprung from one common stock, or were their similarities to be explained as arising from the parallel nature of the various environments in which they grew up?; their social and educational status, etc. etc.

The experience of each of the various members of the conference with widely-scattered languages was most illuminating to the others; thus, difficulties encountered by Dr. Berry in Sierra Leone were cleared up by reference to Jamaican Creole, while Dr. Voorhoeve was able to throw light on some Jamaican constructions by recognising parallels to Sranan Tongo. It was obvious that no two Creole situations were the same, but that there were enough points of comparison between all Creoles to point to some useful generalisations about linguistic behaviour in "transplanted" cultures. It was also evident that Creole languages were a unique testing-ground for linguistic theory generally, arising as they have from a fusion of two or more languages of totally different structure. It was particularly valuable having an Africanist at the conference and the point was made on several occasions that one of our most urgent needs was for trained Africanists to turn their attention to the study of Creole languages. More than one of the papers read demonstrated how light could be thrown on the structure or history of one or other of the parent languages by the study of its Creole form. Finally, it was felt that the fact of the conference being held would help to correct the attitude of contempt towards Creole languages held in many official quarters.

#### DECISIONS ON FUTURE POLICY

At the closing session of the conference the following statement of policy for the future was agreed upon:

i. *The status of Creole language, and the necessity for their further study*

Creole languages should be treated on a par with any other language. Their proper study provides a new and frequently more valid approach than formerly has obtained to the teaching of English and modern European languages in Creole-speaking areas, as well as to the study of these languages and linguistic theory generally. Since Creoles are in many cases the languages of newly-emergent nations, their study is also important to help others understand those nations and for the speakers of Creole to understand themselves. This understanding is an essential preliminary to such nations making the fullest use of their resources, both economic and cultural. In some areas — e.g. West Africa and some of the Windward Islands of the Caribbean — the Creole language of the people is entirely feasible as a medium of instruction and it is frequently by far the most suitable medium; in such cases it should be used in the schools, and educational material should be prepared in Creole. In nearly all areas it has been shown already to be capable of sustaining an expressive literature.

Creole languages have been both neglected and despised in the past. It is urgent that provision should be made for detailed work on them, both descriptive and historical, and that every effort should be made to obtain the financial support and train the scholars necessary to carry out this work.

Although the focus of the conference had been on the Caribbean, attention needs to be drawn to other parts of the world where the Creole languages have been less intensively studied, e.g. Melanesia and parts of South-East Asia; parts of Africa and some neighbouring groups of islands.

ii. *Types of study desirable*

It is important that studies should be based on first-hand information obtained by field-work; this information should cover not only the language itself but also the history and structure of the society in which it is spoken.

The first step in each case should be the collection of "texts", from which grammars and dictionaries should then be prepared. These are the essential preliminaries to what should then follow: on the one hand, descriptive, historical and comparative linguistic studies; on the other, the preparation of sound educational materials, whether the medium of education is to be the Creole itself or some "official" language.

Bibliographies of local material of linguistic interest should also be compiled, and local speech of all varieties recorded on tape.

iii. *A co-ordinating committee*

A permanent committee of this conference shall be set up to assist with the co-ordination of Creole language studies in the future. Dr. R. B. Le Page, of the University College of the West Indies, shall be asked to act as secretary of this committee, on which the following have agreed to serve:

Professor W. S. Allen	—	Trinity College, Cambridge.
Professor J. Berry	—	School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
Professor F. G. Cassidy	—	University of Wisconsin.
Professor Robert A. Hall Jr.	—	Cornell University.
Professor A. H. Marckwardt	—	University of Michigan.
Mr. Douglas Taylor	—	Magua, Dominica.
Dr. J. Voorhoeve	—	University of Amsterdam Bureau of Lin- guistic Research, Surinam.

Other scholars shall be asked to serve on this committee so that it shall be representative of all fields of linguistic research related to Creole language studies.

It is hoped that the existence of this committee will make possible in future the best use of the resources available for such studies, by acting as a clearing-house for information about work done or projected, and (should funds become available) by circulating research material.

R. B. Le Page,  
Mona, Jamaica.

## A NOTE ON

## THE LATE HON. S. T. CHRISTIAN, C.B.E., B.A., LL.M., Q.C., M.L.C.

Mr. Christian, who was a member of the Advisory Board of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, died on March 28th, 1959. While a member of the Board he contributed constructively to the affairs of the Institute. He was also nominated to the College Council and remained on it longer than any other government representative. He secured Mill Reef scholarships for young Antiguan students to study at the College and was in large measure responsible for Antigua's making to the Princess Alice Appeal Fund a contribution per head higher than any other unit in the Caribbean.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

G. E. Cumper is a Research Fellow of the Institute of Social and Economic Research. He spent approximately a year in Barbados enquiring into various aspects of employment for the Government of that island.

Carleen O'Loughlin is a Research Fellow of the Institute of Social and Economic Research. She has been in charge of a project for the assessing of national accounts in various territories of the Eastern Caribbean.

S. and J. Comhaire-Sylvain have done research work into urban conditions in Port-au-Prince, Leopoldville and Lagos. At present they are teaching at the New School for Social Research in New York.

G. E. Hodnett is a statistician at the Regional Research Centre, Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, W.I.

W. R. E. Nanton is the Agricultural Survey Officer, Federal Ministry of Natural Resources and Agriculture, Trinidad, W.I.

Peter Newman is Lecturer in Economics in the Department of Economics, University College of the West Indies.



